Bringing history into accord with the facts in the tradition of Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes

THE BARNES REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF NATIONALIST THOUGHT & HISTORY

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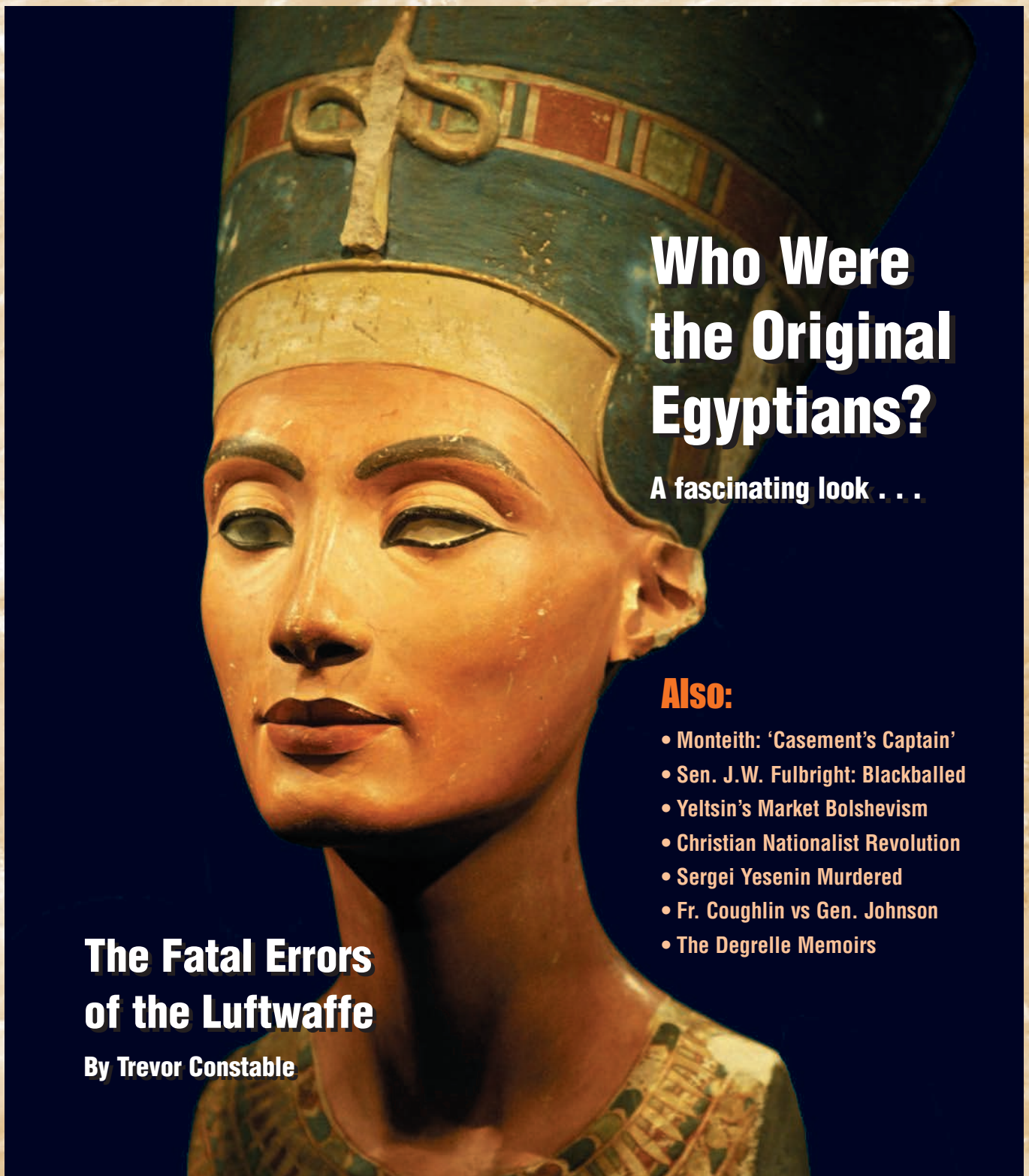

Who Were the Original Egyptians?

A fascinating look . . .

Also:

- Monteith: 'Casement's Captain'
- Sen. J.W. Fulbright: Blackballed
- Yeltsin's Market Bolshevism
- Christian Nationalist Revolution
- Sergei Yesenin Murdered
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- The Degrelle Memoirs

The Fatal Errors of the Luftwaffe

By Trevor Constable

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

5 THE ORIGINAL EGYPTIANS
JOHN R. TIFFANY
Much is written and spoken on the rise and fall of empires. Even more is said on Egypt and its role in history. But who were these people? Were they black? Were they white? Or some other race or ethnic group? This powerful article is deserving of a careful read. . . .

14 THE LUFTWAFFE'S FATAL MISTAKES
TREVOR J. CONSTABLE
The story of the founding and funding of the German Air Corps after WWI is a major untold story. It is important not only in Hitler's ability to mobilize men and money under the harshest of circumstances, but it also is vital information in the evaluation of the role of air power in 20th century warfare. However, the high command made several fatal mistakes. . . .

23 GLOBALISM & REVOLUTION
DR. M. RAPHAEL JOHNSON
This is the introductory comments of the editor of THE BARNES REVIEW to the Fourth International Conference on Authentic History, Real News and the First Amendment in Virginia, June 20-22, 2003. It is a quick overview of the extremely difficult problems facing ethnic nationalists in the 21st century, under the Republican regime of big oil barons, misled Christians and statist bureaucrats. . . .

26 ROBERT MONTEITH & THE IRB
JOHN GARTON & MOIRA O'SULLIVAN
The great battles for ethnic self-determination are some of the most exciting and inspiring that history has to offer. The Irish example is not an exception here. This is an important article on the life and accomplishments of a great revolutionary and provides our aspirations for a global order of independent ethnic enclaves with a real, live and powerful example of courage, moral integrity and, importantly, the achievement of real, tangible results. . . .

34 BEYOND THE INTERIM AGREEMENT
SEN. J.W. FULBRIGHT
As the Israelis demand more and more concessions, cause more and more wars, bring the world to the brink of nuclear disaster and violate every conceivable human right of their subject populations, this could not be a better time for some tough talking common sense over the Jewish problem in the Levant. The political world after the Israeli-Egyptian war is laid out in detail, with plenty of solutions for significant progress on Levantine issues. However, instead of the praise he deserved, the author's time in Washington, D.C. was limited. It was not the first time, many readers will recall, he angered the omnipotent Israeli lobby in America, but it many have been his most powerful moment. . . .

42 BORIS YELTSIN'S LEGACY
ROBERT LOGAN
The rape of the Russian economy during the "transition" years from Leninism to post-modern capitalism is one of the most ignored scams in global intellectual life. In this sordid tale, the State Department, the Export-Import Bank, Harvard University, conservatives, liberals, the controlled global media and the native, Jewish oligarchy conspired to despoil the world's largest country of its hard earned wealth in mining, oil, banking and media. This story is sure to alter one's opinion of the former "Evil Empire.". . .

50 THE MURDER OF SERGEI YESENIN
JURI LINA
Though the jury is still out on the nature and worth of Yesenin's poetry, it is true that the revolutionary government of the Soviet Union needed him, as well as any nonconformist, neutralized—that is, dead. He was murdered in the same way that Trotsky and any one else who opposed the regime was murdered. . . .

52 CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST THEORY
DR. M. RAPHAEL JOHNSON
The institutions of the Christian religion, local customs and national pride, given the inherent and ruthless logic of transnational capital, must give way to the pure form of the economic man. The mass man must be created and justified to match the anational and acultural character of postmodern capital. But must it be this way? . . .

56 COUGHLIN VERSUS JOHNSON
FR. CHARLES COUGHLIN
As the personal, vindictive assaults on the character of Fr. Coughlin began to surface once he broke with the Roosevelt regime, the "radio priest" refused to be silent. As the Depression got deeper and deeper, emotions ran high and the always arrogant Roosevelt administration wanted this patriot stopped—at all costs. . . .

66 NATIONAL SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
ADOLF HITLER
If you ever wanted to know what Hitler really thought about the American propaganda war waged against him—here's his answer. In this rare speech, Hitler lays out the reasons he guided Germany along the path he chose in the 1930s and 1940s. . . .

74 HITLER & THE OLYMPICS
WAFFEN SS GENERAL LEON DEGRELLE
The 1936 Olympics in Berlin were a chance for Germany to showcase her athletes and her rebuilt nation. But many myths have been passed on as fact from that event. . . .

Features:

Personal from the Editor: 2

Editorial—The Decline of Empire: 3

History You May Have Missed: 41

TBR History Quiz: 49

Nationalist History & Theory: 52

Letters to the Editor: 65

The Degrelle Memoirs: 75

PERSONAL FROM THE EDITOR

The task of a Revisionist is not purely to deal with theories and facts in a "scientific" manner, but also to present issues and new discoveries in such a way that they contribute to an overall dialog. History is never separate from politics or morality, and we choose our topics precisely because history is not autonomous, that is, not separate from other fields of inquiry. It is very important for the present system of rule to maintain a fictive version of historical events, a version of events that, of course, "inevitably" leads to the rule of capital, insiders and secret societies. Therefore, the writing or studying of history either affirms this mythology or attacks it; either way, history is politics.

In that vein, we here at TBR thought it wise to begin reprinting some of the major primary source texts of our tradition. We, of course, have been doing this with the Leon Degrelle series. Without TBR, this major figure in fascist politics in northern Europe would have been long consigned to the historical dustbin. Speeches from American presidents, articles from famous counterrevolutionary political theorists and documents from various controversial periods and personalities in history are a major way to increase understanding of the eras in question.

Then, as is proper, the reader can judge for himself about the people in question. Reprinting some hard to find primary documentation assists students, the writing of papers and simply lets people and eras "speak for themselves" without the filter of commentary.

And speaking of "speaking for yourself," we appreciate your letters. And if you have something important to relate about a historical incident you have special knowledge about, please share it with us and other readers. We cannot emphasize enough that Revisionist history is, in its essence, populist. It will not be found in the productions of professional historians whose lifelines are the huge tax-free foundations and academic orthodoxy.

Your editor has been surprised at how many "diamonds in the rough" are out there, brimming with ideas but without the forum or incentive to publish or communicate. It is best to send letters and articles to our email address, using a Microsoft Word attachment, at barnesreview7@aol.com. Or, use regular mail.

TBR is unlike any other journal of history on the planet. In many respects we want to be reader driven—in other words, driven by the specific concerns of real activists; those in the trenches throughout the world fighting our one common enemy: the oligarchic control of the entire world—the New World Order.

All the other journals of history are "grant driven" by the rigorously politically correct, highly paid bureaucrats who dole out money from the foundation trough—much the same way a farmer slops his hogs. THE BARNES REVIEW is the only journal of history written from the unique standpoint of what actually happened, not the wartime propaganda of the "good" guys. And do not forget, political correctness is just another name for cultural communism, carefully designed by students of the Frankfurt School, a scientific program to install communism without the usual violence.

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The Decline of Empire

Our cover story this issue concerns Egypt, specifically its racial make up and ultimate decline. The rise and fall of empires literature is massive, and takes into itself every conceivable variable in social life to explain why huge and wealthy empires become the dust of history.

One of these theories is racial, that is, as the founding stock of a specific empire becomes diluted with alien elements, particularly elements that are radically alien from the founding stock, the empire will decline. In other words, the inborn traits, or at least the cultural accretions that adhere to a specific and well-defined group disappear or are diluted, the ideals and folkways of the polity will wither.

Of course, an objection to the above view might go something like this: if a founding stock of a people permits itself to be diluted, then weaknesses must already be present in the polity. One might counter that the American experiment with racial integration, entered into in the late 1950s was the result, not the cause, of the weakness of the various ethnic groups that helped found the American system of government. The destruction of the Confederacy, the agitation of a powerful alien cultural group, the dislocations of the world wars and the Depression as well as the triumph of international capitalism after the defeat of the Third Reich caused the immune system of the western founders of America to become increasingly alienated and weak. Ultimately, the white, Christian founding stock of the country offers nothing but token resistance.

Other theories of the fall of empires have been offered throughout the modern period, from the decline of the family to the chronic debasement of the currency. Another major theory of the decline of empires concerns the increase in class divisions; as an oligarchic class rules more and more nakedly while the poorer classes become alienated from a system they no longer have any financial stake in. In other words, the rewards of compliance with a system of rule become less and less, no longer justifying further investment in it.

Oswald Spengler offered an extremely satisfying concept of the decline of society by making an all-important distinction between "culture" and "civilization" that is often ignored by his followers. The distinction between a culture and a civilization is that the culture represents the very content of a people; their structures of survival that have created solidarity in the face of numerous threats. This is the very reality of ethnicity and tradition. The civilization then is the superstructure of this culture; the maintenance of the shell, while the content atrophies. It usually is brought about by the creation of a moneyed oligarchy.

The significance of this distinction has barely been dealt with. For many nationalists and Revisionists, the concept of civilization is all-important; the maintenance of which is indispensable. Spengler, as well as other theorists such as Ivan Kireevskii and Johann Herder, answers by saying that "civilization" is oligarchy, it is imperialism; it is expansion for expansion's sake. The rule of oligarchy versus the rule of a civic-minded elite is extremely significant here.

In classical European culture, bureaucracies were not paid; they served from a sense of honor which took administrative and military tasks as part of the responsibilities of citizenship. Once a bureaucracy became a career, rather than an appendage to a title or position, civil culture declined, creating a state administration that sought its own preservation rather than the common good. The decline of the Roman senate is on point.

The worship of money, which is little more than the worship of the self, the ego, is the ultimate corrosive of a culture. Civilization, that sprawling, highly stratified and oligarchic structure, is a sure sign of the destruction of a culture. If culture is identified with ethnicity and language and ethnicity is the "structure of survival," as some have called it, then the destruction of ethnicity might be likened to a political and moral AIDS which destroys the immune system of a polity and renders it open to alien ways, ideas and revolutionary forces—always the playthings of the oligarchs.

The decline of the family thesis deserves more attention. The fact is that the family is the primary transmitter of tradition and therefore the substance of the founding ideas. Therefore, its decline seems the natural harbinger of a broader national or imperial decline.

OSWALD SPENGLER

Empires are multi-ethnic. It should be noted that most imperial societies, that is, empires, have not identified themselves in an ethnic fashion. There is a central imperial culture in the capital and at the major cities, but this has nothing to do with the day to day living of the empire's subject ethnic groups. Generally speaking, empires have permitted a remarkably broad autonomy of ethnicity in return for loyalty, taxes and conscription. Russia, Austria and Rome are three examples of empires that identified themselves with an imperial culture, permitting nationality free rein in the fringes, so long as loyalty was upheld.

In Egypt, the racial cause was the most noticeable because of the increasing migration of Nubian (and other black) tribes within the borders of the empire, as well as their becoming the slave class of the Egyptian elite. In the later part of the empire, the racial features of the Egyptian elite themselves seemed to undergo a drastic change and black features were noticeably present. Here, because of the radical distinctions between black tribes and the clearly white founders of the Egyptian state, the racial issues within the decline and fall of the Egyptian empires become profound. Therefore, THE BARNES REVIEW, this time around, will deal with this issue in detail, and our hat is off to John Tiffany, who has done an excellent job in dealing with this complex topic. ❖

The Racial Makeup of the Original Egyptians

The "afrocentric" view of the history of Egypt matched against the facts is not only interesting to all historical Revisionists but vividly displays a lesson to present-day Americans. Are we following the same path that Egypt has chosen?

BY JOHN TIFFANY

Opposite page: A close-up of the Temple of Nefertari, wife of Pharaoh Ramesses II. The statues here are about 30 feet tall. Along with the larger Temple of Ramesses, this construction at Abu Simbel on the Nile is a magnificent example of the great art and architecture of the ancient Egyptians. Some African-Americans, apparently unsatisfied with the accomplishments of their ancestors, are now claiming that the Caucasoid ruling class of the Egyptians was actually Negroid.

Egypt is vitally important to anyone who really wants to understand the workings of history. This is a country whose saga is so long and so varied that it provides, in effect, an excellent laboratory for the science of history. Any general theory of history that holds true for 5,000 or more years of Egypt's existence must hold true for the world at large. That is why the "afrocentric" view of Egyptian history is so alarming.

Afrocentrism is a kind of pseudo-history that was concocted by those who felt that white and Asian people seemed to play too large a role in historiography. The afrocentrists decry true history as "eurocentric."

One of the fundamental ideas of the afrocentric multicultural pseudoscience is that Egypt is the source of civilization (including Greco-European civilization and the native civilizations of the New World), and that during its glory days, the people of Egypt were black. Another key idea of these so-called "melanin scholars" is that melanin, a widely distributed pigment in nature, found in all humans, has extraordinary—indeed, magical—properties that are best manifested in Negroid people. They claim (based on no evidence) that melanin is a superconductor, that it absorbs all frequencies of the electromagnetic spectrum, that it can convert sound energy to light energy and vice versa, and that it can function as a microcomputer to process information.

Here is a summary of the bizarre cosmogonic doctrine of afrocentrism: When, in accordance with the will of Allah, the Earth was separated from Luna by an explosion in the year 65,999,999,998,062 B.C., there appeared on the planet the black race. For almost 66 trillion years those perfect beings dwelt in perfect happiness, speaking Arabic and leading the joyous and unfettered life now to be found in the jungles of the Congo. The universal bliss was troubled, however, in 4707 B.C., when a scientist named Yakub determined to create, artificially, a race of debased and inferior creatures. He worked steadily for 600 years, and finally, by "grafting" and "rigid birth control," he produced the "blue-eyed devils," i.e., white men, who are physically weak and totally evil. Allah, for purpos-

es of his own, and intending the ultimate exaltation of his chosen people (blacks, in this instance), who are the only true human beings, permitted the white devils to interfere with nature and set up that nasty thing called civilization. He even permitted the vile "spooks" to dominate and enslave the chosen people by devising the "devil-doctrine" called Christianity. He decreed, however, that the white swine were to rule the world for exactly 6,000 years. Their time was up in 1914. (Apparently Christianity was invented about 4000 B.C.) But they are now enjoying a few "years of grace" until the black man can rise and exterminate them from the face of the Earth and come into his own again. Of this there can be no doubt, because "all history" has been "written in advance by 24 black scientists."

The afrocentric "scholars" such as Theophile Obenga and Senegal's Cheikh Anta Diop seek to sell books to individuals, including demoralized white liberals, who want to read what they want to believe, regardless of whether or not these claims fall within the bounds of reality and reason.

The average Egyptian of today, or even most members of the higher classes of that country, is partly Negroid, but the great pharaohs of olden times (until about 1185 B.C.) were clearly white.[1] Could this explain why Egypt was great in ancient times but is a fourth-rate nation today?

Exactly what is actually known about the race or races of the ancient Egyptians? Most Egyptologists would argue that the ancient Egyptians were an ethnic group of the Caucasian race. In so far as nationality, the land of *kmt* or Kemet (the ancient name of the country we now call Egypt, or "Misr" in Arabic or the biblical name "Mizraim") in the Hamitic language means black. Scholars have debated the etymology of the word "Kemet" for years. Afrocentric-minded scholars argue that it translates as "the land of the blacks," whereas eurocentric-minded scholars argue that it translates as "the black land." The former would refer to the people (ostensibly a predominantly Negro population), and the latter would refer to the soil (black silt, originating from the Nile River during the seasonal inundation).

Blacks have been present in Egypt from very early times, if not from the beginning. It has even been suggested by some scholars that Egyptian civilization only arose because there were both whites and blacks present, the whites to provide the ruling class and the blacks to provide the slaves, without whom the rulers would not have had the leisure time necessary to create a civilization. Therefore it is only to be expected that blacks have been depicted in ancient Egyptian art. But this certainly does not in itself prove that Negroes were preponderant in Egypt. Afrocentrists point to various busts showing Negro types in Egypt, but a curious thing about these busts is that they nearly all date from a late period, the 25th dynasty (730 B.C.-633 B.C.), a degenerate era, when Egypt had the Negroid pharaoh Tahara on the throne.

The hot, dry sands of Egypt have preserved through more than 60 centuries the remains of countless multitudes of the earliest people known to have dwelt in the Nile Valley; and not the bones only, but also their skin and hair plus the muscles and organs of the body. Even such delicate tissues as the nerves and the brain and the lens of the eye are available for examination today. We are able to form a very precise idea of the structure of the body of the Proto-Egyptian (first Egyptians). For example the hair in almost all cases presented no resemblance whatever to the "woolly" appearance of Negro hair.

Of the remains exhumed of these first Egyptians, according to Earnest Sevier Cox, "not more than 2 percent showed definitely a Negro admixture, and possibly an additional 2 percent showed a suspicion of Negro blood."

From the 18th dynasty (1580-1350 B.C.) to the 25th (663-525 B.C.) is a period of six centuries. They mark the decay of Egyptian civilization. During this period Egyptian initiative and ingenuity slowly declined. When a mulatto was received as king, religion had fallen from an ethical test for the life hereafter to a cult of animal worship. The early pharaohs built the pyramids and temples which stand today. The later pharaohs built nothing of significance; instead, they cut out the names of the early kings and inserted their names upon some of the greatest architectural achievements of the world. Art, science, and literature were dead.

Egyptian contact with the Negro peoples to the south, beginning in prehistoric times, had been continuous. It is known that Negroes constituted a small percentage of the population prior to the dynastic age, and also that there were some mixed breeds even at this remote date.

This Negroid monarchy was the result of intermixture with a ruling class that was originally white. This miscegenation finally resulted in the extinction of Egyptian culture.

It may be noted that a bust of a pharaoh created outside his own time cannot be relied upon as being an accurate representation. As an artistic convention, artists of the 25th dynasty would portray even kings of older times as black. For example, there are no images of Menes (Narmer), dating from his own time. (Menes, about 3100 B.C., was the first of the Egyptian pharaohs.) The 25th dynasty artists who attempted a rendition of Menes may not have had an inkling as to what he actually looked like. The nearest thing we have to a contemporary image of Menes is the Palette of Narmer, a famous artifact that has been dated to about 3000 B.C., and which was used for preparing cosmetics. Carvings of Menes appear on both sides of the object and clearly depict him as a white man.

Furthermore, Menes was only the first of a string of eight pharaohs in his dynasty, and no one, not even the afrocentrists, has claimed that the other seven, his descendants, were other than white men.

Another myth propounded by the afrocentrists is that Pharaoh Akhenaten, generally (although inaccurately) credited with (or blamed for) the propagation of monotheism,[2] was black. However, a bust of the pharaoh made during his life is clearly

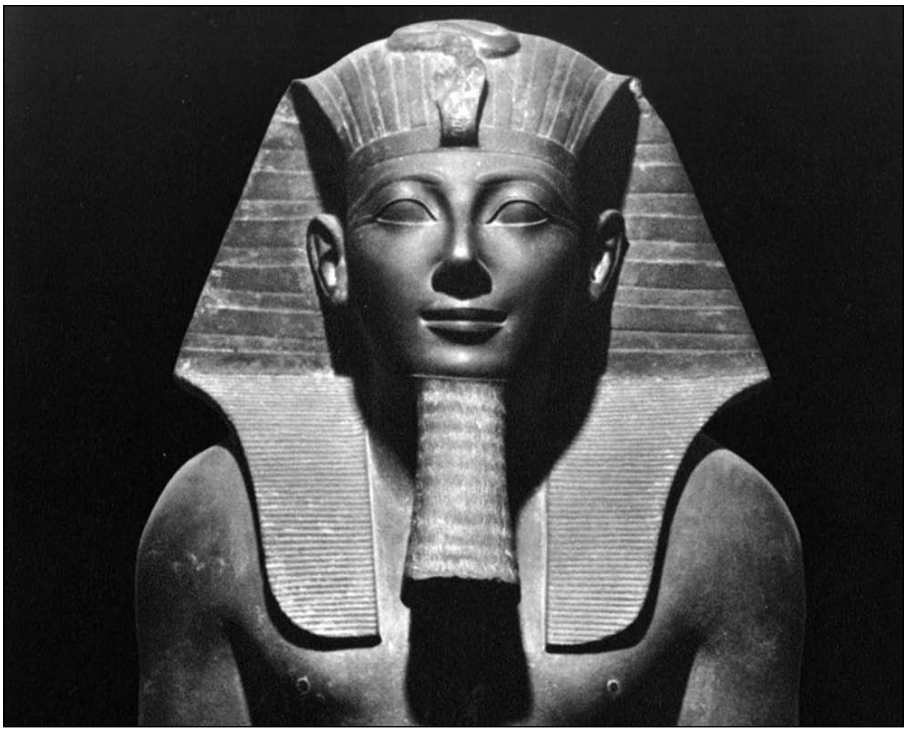
Also, there is genetic evidence that the non-Egyptian civilizations of northeastern Africa, namely Nubia, Axum and Meroe, may have been Caucasian.

that of a white man. His mummy matches the bust except that the nose is somewhat flattened—clearly a distortion, caused probably by the bandaging. It is this flattened nose that serves as the basis for the absurd claims that Akhenaten was a Negro.

Similarly, the claim is put forth that the second king of the Third Dynasty, Zoser (Djoser; he is also known as Netjerykhet; 2630-2611 B.C.), who built what is often (but probably quite wrongly) described as the "first pyramid," at Saqara, was a black with a flat nose, thick lips and a protruding lower jaw. This claim is based on a limestone statue, which was found in the otherwise empty tomb complex at Saqara. The statue is badly damaged, and the way the lips have been smashed has caused them to look somewhat like Negro lips. Based on this flimsy evidence, the black supremacists have labeled the statue that of a black man.

There is, however, in existence one other depiction of Zoser, carved on a wall at Saqara, and this bas-relief shows him clearly to be a Caucasoid, unfortunately for the afrocentrists.

Red hair, of course, is a feature that is very seldom found in any other race than whites, and particularly the Nordic subrace of white people. Another line advocated by the afrocentrists is that there is no proof that Pharaoh Ramesses II had red hair. Admittedly, the hair of the mummy of the great pharaoh was touched up with henna—his hair having grayed with age while he was living. But microscopic study of the mummy's hair by French Prof. P.F. Ceccaldi and his research team has proved that Ramesses II was indeed a redhead.



TUTHMOSES III

He has been hailed as Egypt's greatest pharaoh *and as the Napoleon of Egypt. He stood less than five feet four inches in height, and is depicted here in a statue carved from a dark, hard greywacke that itself is only two-third life-size. Tuthmoses III (clearly a Caucasian, like nearly all high-ranking ancient Egyptians) extended his realm's boundaries in every direction, conquering more land than any pharaoh before or after him. Note the prominent aquiline nose. With his army of 20,000 soldiers he also expelled the Hyksos from northern Egypt. (This Indo-European group had occupied an empire extending from the Nile Delta to Karkamesh in Kurdistan.)*

Although the pharaoh was 90 years old when he died, and basically the color of the mummy's hair (reddish-yellow) was caused by dying with a henna solution, the professor found that the hair roots had retained traces of natural red pigmentation, and that therefore during his youth Ramesses had been red haired. Ceccaldi also studied the cross-sectional shape of the hairs he was allowed to test, and found them to be oval in cross section. This showed that the Egyptian leader was wavy haired, or cymotrich. He said this combination of characteristics shows Ramesses was a leucoderm (white person).

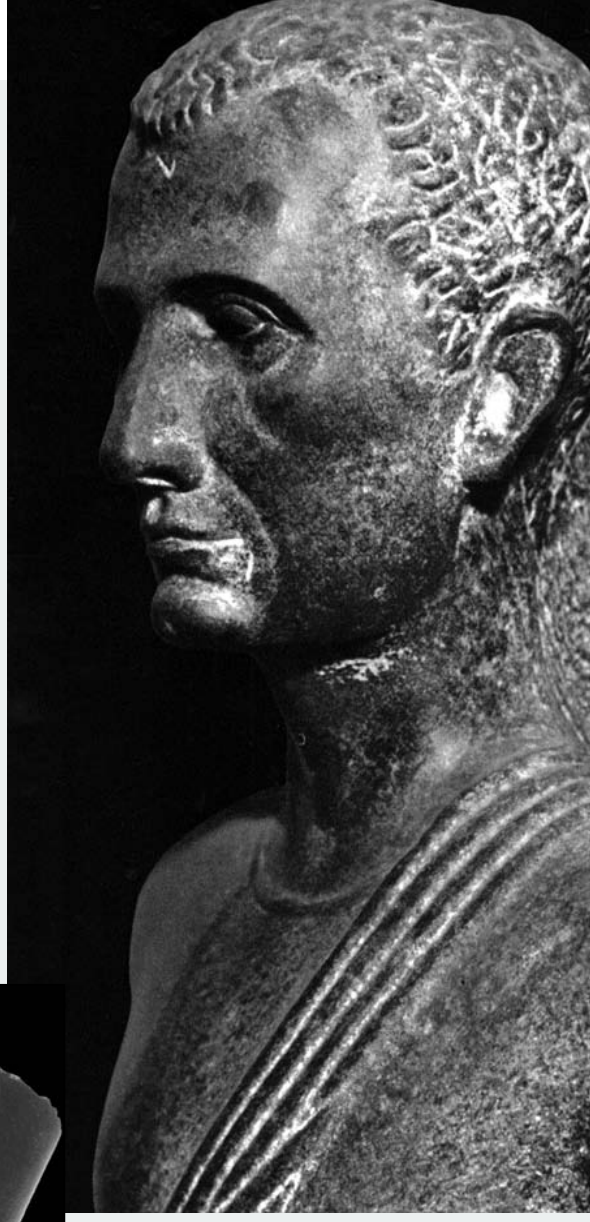
These facts have not only anthropological interest, but also great symbolic importance. In ancient Egypt, the god Seth was said to have been red-haired, and redheads were claimed to have worshiped the god devoutly. In a Ramesses study, the Egyptologist Desroches-Noblecourt wrote an essay, in which she discussed the importance of Ramesses' rufous condition. She noted that the Ramessides (the family of Ramesses II), were devoted to Seth, with several bearing the name Seti, which means "beloved of Seth." She concluded that the Ramessides believed themselves to be divine descendants of Seth, with their red hair as proof of their lineage; they may even have used this peculiar physical feature to propel themselves out of obscurity, and onto the throne of the pharaohs. Desroches-Noblecourt also speculated that Ramesses II may well have been descended from a long line of redheads.

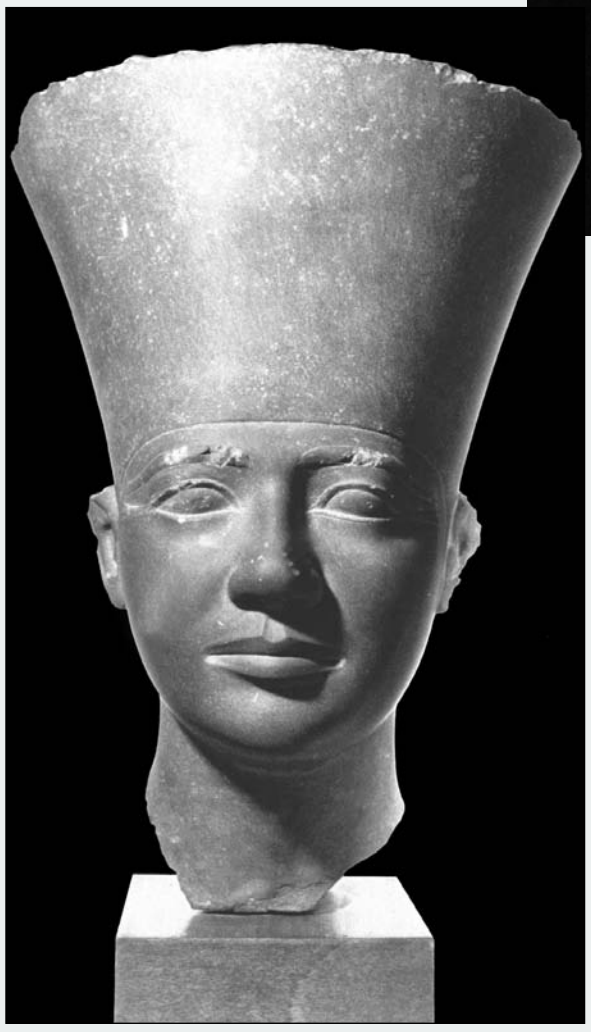
Her speculations have been proved correct: Dr. Joann Fletcher, a consultant to the British Bioanthropology Foundation, has proved that Seti I (the father of Ramesses II), had red hair. It has also been demonstrated that the mummy of Pharaoh Siptah (a great-grandson of Ramesses II), has red hair.

Ramesses II is better known as Ramesses the Great. His birth name was Ramesses Meryamun ("Re has fashioned him, beloved of Amun"), and his throne name was Usermaatre Setepenre ("The justice of Re is powerful, Chosen of Re"). Although different authorities give different dates, he ruled from about 1279 to 1212 B.C. Known for his military prowess, he raided the Libyans and Nubians and attacked the Syrians nearly half a dozen times. He also battled the Hittites and later formed a treaty with them, marrying two of their princesses. He had eight main queens during his life, and a total of somewhere around 200 wives, and is said to have had about 60 daughters and almost 100 sons. Ramesses also built more temples and monuments than any other pharaoh. His most impressive project was his temple at Abu Simbel in northern Nubia. This vast temple was carved into the face of a cliff and features four colossal statues of himself, each of them 60 feet tall, in a sitting position. Thanks to some interesting engineering and archeoastron-

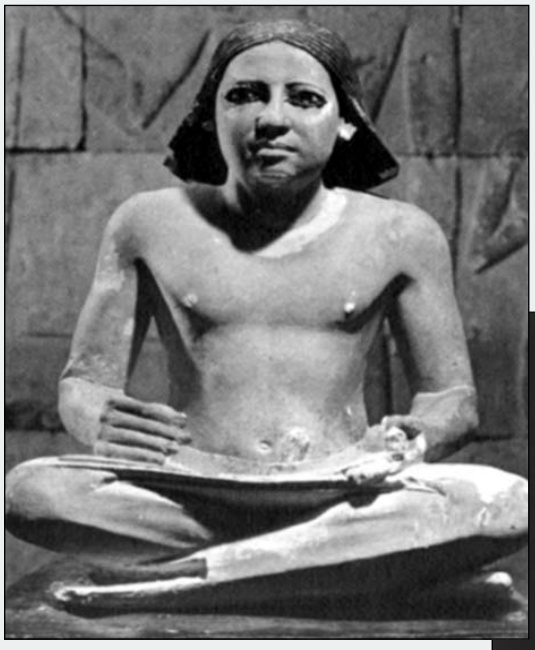
VIEWS OF EGYPTIANS FROM THEIR OWN ART

The goal of the ancient Egyptians *was to live forever after death. They believed that tomb statues such as that of King Auibre Hor (left) of the 13th dynasty enabled the spirit of the deceased, an invisible twin known as the* ka*, to assume physical form. The figure of the king (Caucasian) striding forward, bears a pair of upraised arms on his head to denote the* ka*. The afterworld was believed to be located in the west, where the sun died at the end of each day, and it was on the western bank of the Nile that the dead were often buried. It was believed that a person also had a* ba *or second soul that was like a bird with a human head. The* ba *kept in touch with the friends and family of the dead, and the* ka *went back and forth on a boat from the other world where the gods and goddesses of the dead lived. Small boats were put in tombs to provide transportation for the* ka*.*



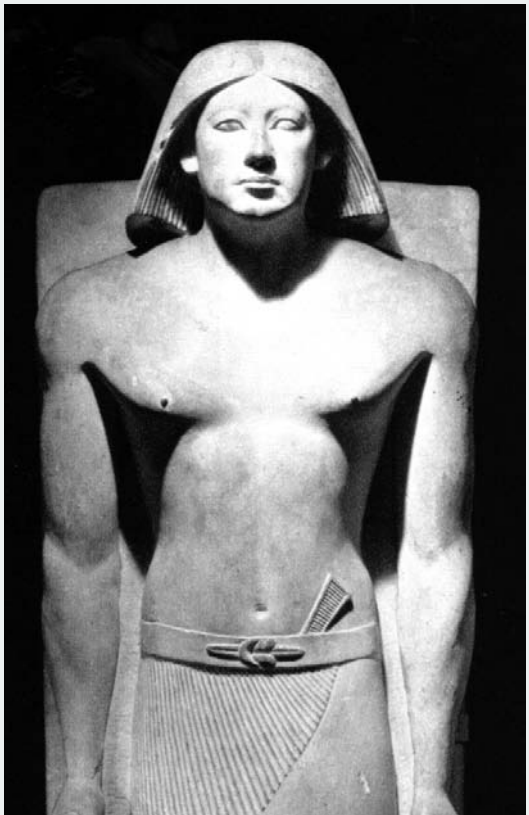


Left, this black stone head *is thought to depict the fifth-dynasty King Userkaf. Userkaf wears the red crown of Lower Egypt. (For centuries Lower and Upper Egypt were two separate kingdoms, each with its own distinctive crown; later they were combined, and the crowns also were combined.) Userkaf was the grandson of King Djedefre and married a daughter of King Menkaure. His pyramid itself was of inferior quality compared to the Giza constructions. Never again would the ruler of Egypt have the power and ability to make such monuments. The inner core was crudely hewn and gaps in-between stone blocks were filled with rubble and mortar. Nevertheless, Userkaf was a great innovator, with his Sun temple and great obelisk that became standard for the rest of the dynasty. He seems to be a white man.*



At left, an Egyptian scribe named Kay, *whose statuette dates from about 2470 B.C. His fair skin, straight hair and facial features mark him clearly as a Caucasoid. A scribe's profession was highly regarded in ancient Egypt. Hieroglyphics being very difficult, few Egyptians knew how to read and write. The training could take as long as 12 years. A scribe might write letters or draw up contracts for fellow-villagers, but others had more demanding jobs. They might record the harvest and collect the state's share of it in taxes. Scribes themselves were exempt from taxes. Interestingly, there is no record of any scribe ever being a black.*

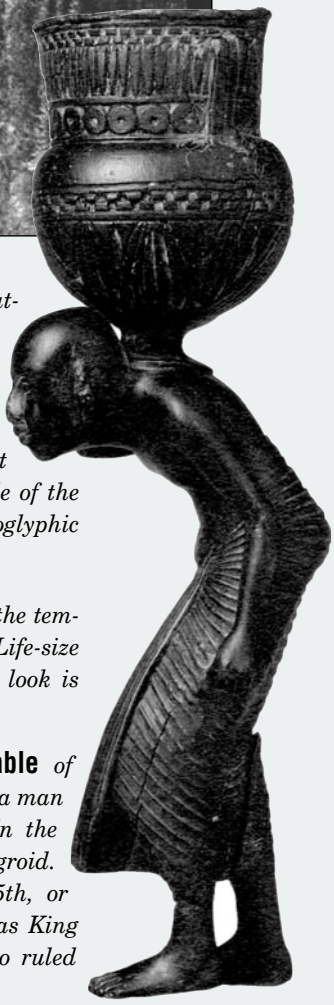
Left, Hor-si-Hor, *or "Hor, the son of Hor," was a priest of Thoth in Ptolemaic Egypt (Cleopatra was a Ptolemy), on the eve of the Roman domination, and could probably pass for a Roman himself, although he was presumably a full-blooded Egyptian. Either his father was also named Hor, or else "the son of Hor" is actually of religious significance, meaning "the son of Horus," the god. His clothing appears superficially Hellenistic, but is in fact a descendant (so to speak) of the garb of ancient Egyptians such as Psamtik-sa-Neith.*



Above, from the rock tombs of Meir, *a group statue of the family of a 12th dynasty Egyptian named Ukh-hotpe, or Ukhhotpe. The ears and hands are stylized and exaggerated, but the fact that these people are whites is clear. Note the little girl, second from right: Children's hair was shaved or cut short except for a long lock of hair left on the side of the head. This s-shaped lock was depicted by the hieroglyphic symbol of a child or youth.*

Left: Statue of Ranofer. *Ranofer was a priest of the temples of Ptah and Sokar during the 5th dynasty. Life-size statues were found in his tomb at Saqqara. His look is unmistakably Caucasian.*

Right: Egyptian artists were perfectly capable *of depicting blacks, as illustrated by this sculpture of a man doing a job in ancient Egypt, carrying water. In the pharaoh class, perhaps only Tahara was truly Negroid. Even his ancestors in his own dynasty, the 25th, or Nubian dynasty of Egypt, were Caucasoid, such as King Aspalta, King Senkamanisken and Shabaka, who ruled Egypt from 716 to 702 B.C.*



omy, the sun would shine directly through the entrance of the temple at sunrise on the equinoxes. Ramesses was the last of the great white native rulers of Egypt. After his era, Egypt became decadent and degenerate, and Negro blood began to infiltrate on a large scale.

It is worth noting that the ancient Libyans, by the way, were a white people. The ancient Libyans extended from Morocco across North Africa to the Nile Delta. Libyans occupied the western third of the delta during the early years of the Egyptian civilization and were apparently the descendants of Cro-Magnon people, by way of the Afalou race, according to Prof. Carleton S. Coon. Cro-Magnon braincases were larger, on average (1,617 cc), than those of any modern race of men.

Coon stated that Egypt's Queen Hetep-Heres II, of the Fourth dynasty, the daughter of Cheops (Khufu), "is shown in the colored bas-reliefs of her tomb to have been a distinct blonde. Her hair is painted a bright yellow stippled with little red horizontal lines, and her skin is white."

The North African Nordics resemble the mixed Nordics of Upper Paleolithic derivation found in Ireland and western Norway more than they do the ash-blond Nordics of Norway and Sweden. These Nordics of North Africa are a mixture of brunet Mediterraneans of tall stature and considerable facial length with Afalou survivors. The blondism of these Nordics is derived from the Afalou side.

Egypt's Queen Hetep-Heres II, of the Fourth Dynasty, the daughter of Cheops (Khufu), "is shown in the colored bas-reliefs of her tomb to have been a distinct blonde."

While bigger brains are not always connected with greater intelligence, there does tend to be a correlation. Both Afalou Man and Cro-Magnon Man had larger brains than modern men on the average. Both had a cranial capacity on average of over 1,600 cc, while the average modern man has a cranial capacity of 1,326 cc. Farmers living at Tushka on the Nile about 11,000 B.C. had a cranial capacity of 1,452 cc, almost identical to the brain size of modern northern Europeans (1,453 cc). Modern Cairo natives, thanks to the influx of Negro genes from south of the Sahara, are not only darker than ancient Egyptians but their brains are smaller, averaging only 1,302 cc. Even this is more than the average of modern African blacks, which is 1,295 cc. *Homo sapiens* of the Australian aboriginal race ranges about 1,256 cc.

Also, there is evidence that the non-Egyptian civilizations of northeastern Africa, namely Nubia, Axum and Meroe, may have been founded by whites, although (not surprisingly) the afrocentrists claim the founders were pure Negroes.

The Hpa 1 (np3,592) mitochondrial DNA marker is very common in sub-Saharan Africa (i.e., African Negroes) but is almost absent in North African and European populations. It has been found in a Meroitic sample from ancient Nubia. From 29 individuals analyzed in a recent study (March 2002) by the University of Barcelona in Spain, only 15 yielded positive results, four of them, or about 27 percent, displaying the marker. In sub-Saharan Africans, it is found at a frequency of 68.7 percent, on average. This means that the frequency of Negro genes in the Meroitic population can be estimated at around 39 percent (with a confidence interval from 22 to 55 percent). This finding should put to rest afrocentric claims that the ancient Nubians were 100 percent Negro. If the Meroitic people were 39 percent Negro, it would logically follow that they must have been approximately 61 percent white. It may then be that the achievements of the ancient Nubians, such as they were, are attributable to this component in their ethnic makeup.

Also the Ethiopians were not Negrified in the early days of their culture. Ancient legends tell of white Ethiopians. Even today, the gene pool of the Ethiopians is substantially Caucasoid, with little or no input from the central Africans, who are truly Negroes.

Indeed, according to genetic researchers (as in the book *Mapping Human History* by Steve Olson, Houghton Mifflin Co., NY, 2002), blacks are newcomers in northeastern Africa, originally the homeland of the white race. The "Caucasoid" features of various peoples around the world, says Olson, "may simply reflect the features of the northeastern Africans who gave rise to all the people of Europe and Asia." He cites the cases of the Indians (of India), and various groups in Asia and even in the Americas, and "groups such as the Australian aborigines and the Ainu."

Another myth of the afrocentrists is this: "According to the Egyptians themselves in their Book of the Dead, they came from the south of Egypt. The ancient Egyptians always held the south in high reverence. Sudan was commonly called the Land of the Gods."

Here is the reality, which does not jibe with the afrocentric notions: The Book of the Dead deals only with religious rituals involving the dead and the afterlife. It does not refer to the ethnic origins of the Egyptians. Apparently the afrocentrists rely on the supposition that few people will obtain and read a full translation of the Book of the Dead and find out the reference is not to be found in it. Furthermore, when ancient Egyptians spoke of the south, this was not a reference to the Negro-inhabited areas of Africa. The city of Thebes, for one example, was regarded by Egyptians as being in the south, but it is a long distance north of, say, Sudan. The area shortly south of Thebes was officially called Nubia, and never referred to as "the south."

Afrocentrists like to point out that Herodotus described the Egyptian people as being "black, with woolly hair." They claim this proves the ancient Egyptians were Negroes. Herodotus did describe the Egyptian people he saw as "black, with woolly hair." But what the afrocentrists fail to mention is that Herodotus lived about 484-425 B.C. Egyptian civilization was already dead by his time, the last whites having been absorbed by about 800 B.C. Thus it would have been unlikely for "the father of history" to have seen anything but swarthy individuals when he visited Egypt.

Looking back to earlier and better times, we can take note of the Egyptian nobleman Yuya, from about 1400 B.C., who had blond hair and typically Nordic facial structure. Yuya, whose mummy still exists, was the father of Tiy, the wife of Pharaoh Amenhotep III.

Another notable mummy is that of the female Pharaoh Hatshepsut, who was the queen of Pharaoh Tuthmoses II. When Tuthmoses died, in 1520 B.C., she took over and ruled Egypt.

Her long blond hair and Nordic face have been well preserved by the embalming process.

Another Nordic Egyptian king was Seti I. His mummy is the most lifelike of the great pharaohs of Egypt, a tribute to the embalmers' art. His Nordic features remain clear, and are also depicted in a bas-relief of his head made during his lifetime at the temple at Abydos.

It is worth noting that many statues of ancient Egyptians are painted and colored in various ways, and that the eyes are frequently shown as blue—sometime by using lapis lazuli for the corneas. The wooden statue of King Hor (c. 1783-1633 B.C.), on display at the Cairo Museum, is inlaid with striking blue eyes.

Akhenaten, the most innovative of the Egyptian pharaohs, was clearly white from his contemporary depictions, as was his wife, the lovely Nefertiti, a fine bust of whom was discovered in the workshop of the sculptor Thutmose in el-Amarna. Nefertiti was perhaps the most influential woman of the entire Bronze Age. Geneticists believe she may be the ancestor of many modern Europeans, through the six daughters she and Akhenaten had together.

Unfortunately the mummies of only a very few pharaohs have survived into the 21st century, but a large proportion of those that do remain are fair-haired. And the evidence is that hair does not change in color as a result of mummification; it only becomes dry and brittle.

The mummy of the wife of King Tutankhamun is distinguished by its auburn hair. And an unidentified mummy with red hair, red mustache and red beard was found by the pyramids at Saqara. The mummy of Pharaoh Thothmes II has light, chestnut-colored hair.

The Egyptians have also left us many paintings of fair-haired and blue-eyed nobility and royals.

A rule of thumb is that a civilized white country reverts to a lower level of culture once the population becomes excessively mixed with alien genes. Portugal is an example; although the average Portuguese looks white, he actually has about 10 percent black blood, because of the assimilation of Negro slaves. Portugal was, of course, almost pure white in its glory days. And if the rulers of a country are visibly Negroid, it is to be expected that a decline is setting in. Thus, the black pharaohs of Egypt were also the country's last pharaohs (disregarding the later Macedonians such as Cleopatra). After they ruled for a few generations, Egypt became a land ruled by foreigners until modern times.

Most of the foreign peoples who overran and conquered the locals of Egypt were white. The ancient Libyans, a blondish people, who once dominated North Africa from Morocco to modern Libya, conquered Egypt in prehistoric times. Indeed, some authorities believe the pharaohs were actually of the Libyan race, not the Egyptian. The Libyans were also

QUEEN NEFERTITI

Typical of ancient Egyptian royalty *was the lovely Nefertiti ("The Beautiful Has Come"), the wife of the controversial Pharaoh Akhenaten and the stepmother of Tutankhamun. This fine bust of Nefertiti was discovered in the workshop of the sculptor Thutmose in el-Amarna. Nefertiti may be the ancestor of many modern Europeans, through her six daughters. The bust, perhaps the most famous piece of ancient Egyptian artwork, is in nearly perfect condition. The only visible damage consisted of the chipped ears, and the inlay of the retina of the left eye was missing. The sand and dirt of Room 19 (more than 30 cubic feet) was sifted again and again through a finer and finer mesh. All the ear pieces were found but the eye inlay was never recovered. Only later, a closer examination revealed that mysteriously it was never inserted (featured on cover).*

the ancestors of the modern Berbers. Although today's Berbers have been heavily Negrified in most regions, red hair is still common among the Berbers of the Rif.

Later, around 2000 B.C., the country was overrun by the Hyksos, an Indo-Iranian race of people. The Hyksos were fond of swastikas and spirals, as were the Etruscans, the Germanic tribes, the La Tene Kelts and the Mykenaean Greeks, all of whom were related peoples with more or less similar cultures. The "horse graves" and the personal and place names of the Hyksos all attest to their Indo-Iranian origin. It is said that they rode ponies of Scandinavian origin and used a standard of weights identical to that used in Sweden at that time.

Then came the Persians, who of course were Aryans. This Nordic people came down from Russia around 1800 B.C. and set up a caste system to avoid racial pollution from the darker natives. The Persians went on to conquer the entire Middle East and parts of Europe, ruling Egypt from 525 to 332 B.C. On the walls of the great palace at Susa there are paintings of Persian nobles. They have blond hair and blue eyes.

Then it was the Macedonians, followed by the mighty Romans. Both of these are Indo-European peoples.

Then it was the Arabs, and it is worthy of note that two of the first four leaders of the Arabs in Egypt had gray eyes. In A.D. 868 Ahmed Ibn El Tulun, a white Turkoman, conquered Egypt. The hordes of Tamerlane, who himself was blond, briefly invaded Egypt. Then, in 1171, it was Saladin, a Kurd. The Kurds are a race very closely related to the Iranians. The Mamelukes from Russia, Turkey and the Caucasus ruled Egypt from 1260 to 1517 and remained the ruling class until 1803. In 1517 the Ottoman Turks conquered Egypt, and many Ottoman sultans were Nordic, such as Orkhan II, who had blond hair, blue eyes and a ruddy complexion. In 1798 Napoleon conquered—he of the blue eyes. Napoleon as a young man was a towhead. Then it was the Albanian Indo-European dynasty, founded by the gray-eyed Mohammed Ali (1805-1953). Next it was the English, another Nordic Indo-European race, who made Egypt their colony. After the Brits, it was the (largely Russian) Soviets who effectively controlled the land, starting about 1960, although they allowed a native Egyptian puppet to head the government.

Scientists have also looked into the racial makeup of the ancient Egyptians. Relying on skulls, but not blood groupings or DNA, Loring Brace, an anthropologist at the University of Michigan, states that the ancient Egyptians were closer, at least head-wise, to Germans and Danes than they were to Somalis, Ethiopians, Nubians or Berbers. He dismisses the term "race" and then revives it disguised as the politically correct term "cluster." There are several of these; the two of most interest to him happen to be the "European" and the "African." The Egyptians, according to his findings, definitely belong with the former.

Not only were the ancient Egyptians not black, their nearest relatives are Europeans: "It is obvious that both the predynastic and late dynastic Egyptians are more closely related to the European cluster than they are to any of the other major regional clusters in the world," says Brace. The dean of African-American classicists, Frank Snowden, advises afrocentrists to give up Egypt and focus on Nubia as the first great black civilization. Brace's findings would deny even this concession. Nubians, like the Egyptians, are not part of the "African" head cluster.

Thus it is seen in all the evidence that the ancient Egyptians, as well as most of the more recent ruling classes of Egypt, were not black but white. Was it mixture with neighboring cultures that led to the downfall of the once-great Egyptian civilization?

The importance of the history of Egypt cannot be overestimated as it pertains to America. Clearly, our nation is following the course of Egypt, only over a greatly shortened time. As has been said by so many philosophers, the sad fact is that men learn nothing from history. Today, those who do not see the vivid similarity of today's growing anarchy, loss of societal comity, lawlessness, distortion and pollution of our European culture are blind indeed. ❖

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Recommended Reading from TBR Book Club

Norse Mythology, by John Lindow. The author specializes in Scandinavian medieval studies and folklore. A great reference book to have and a book to pass on to children and grandchildren who have little knowledge of the beliefs of our pre-Christian ancestors. #339, softcover 364 pages, ***$19 minus 10% for TBR subscribers.***

Spartan Women, by Sarah B. Pomeroy. The first book ever published about the women of Sparta covering this much ground is a well-laid out study, readable and extremely interesting. Books about Sparta almost always deal with powerful men and glorious battles, but the Spartan women's role is rarely mentioned. Because of the warriors' histories, where bravery was the most important attribute, no one realized that at one point in time women represented the majority of heirs to estates and controlled a great deal of property. Their sons and husbands had been killed in battles—Sparta was doomed—but the women continued on, continuing that once-great culture. #337, softcover, 198 pgs., ***$20 minus 10% for TBR subscribers.***

The Thirteenth Tribe, by Arthur Koestler. First published in 1976, this classic became a shocker to the Jewish establishment, written by one of its own. The prolific author traces the history of the ancient Khazar Empire whose citizens converted to Judaism in the Dark Ages. #6, softcover, 255 pgs., ***$13.95 minus 10% for TBR subscribers.***

Lost Civilizations of the Stone Age, by Richard Rudgley, Oxford trained scholar, specializing in the Stone Age. He tells us that Stone Age man performed delicate medical operations and "cave men" used artistic techniques not seen again until the Renaissance. Many more amazing, little-known facts about our far-distant ancestors. #334, softcover, 310 pgs., ***$15.***

Religious Attitudes of the Indo-Europeans by Hans F.K. Guenther—This well-known volume, newly reprinted, puts Prof. Guenther back on our bookshelves. He reflects on the religion of the Indo-European-speaking peoples. Comparing Indian, Persian, Slavic, Teutonic and other people's religions, he identifies specific attitudes of the Indo-Europeans. A true classic. #308, softcover, 112 pages, ***$12 minus 10% for TBR subscribers.***

Order any of these books from TBR Book Club by completing and returning the coupon on page 80 of this issue. Call 1-877-773-9077 to charge by phone.

Found in the tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamun *("King Tut"), this fine piece of art features the boy-king on a royal chair with his feet on a footstool while one of the boy-king's wives (believed to be his sister Ankhesenamun) applies perfumed unguent to her husband's shoulder. In the background, between their faces, are the handed rays of the Aten sun disk, a monotheistic god worshipped as "Shu who is in the Disk, and who liveth forever and forever, Aten the Living One, the Great One, He Who is [celebrated] in the 30-year festival, the Lord of the orbit of the Sun, the Lord of the Sun, the Lord of the Heaven, the Lord of the Earth, the Lord of the House of Aten in the city of Khut-Aten." However, in time, Tutankhamun saw "the error of his ways" (and the ways of his father Akhenaten). He ordered a huge stele to be erected at Thebes on which was inscribed his promise to allow the return of complete religious freedom to Egypt. Repudiating the Aten cult, he also promised to rebuild and refurbish the various temples of the old gods of the land, and to support their priesthoods with generous amounts of ritual supplies and other needful things. Aten briefly became Aten-Ra (bringing back the old god Ra in a strange amalgamation), which in turn became Amun-Ra, thus displacing Aten with the older god Amun. This is not quite the end. Monotheism was such a momentous concept that it may well have been taken on board by the Israelites. King Tut displays the same full lips as his father, as shown in many depictions of Akhenaten. Still, he was Caucasoid, as was his sister-wife.*

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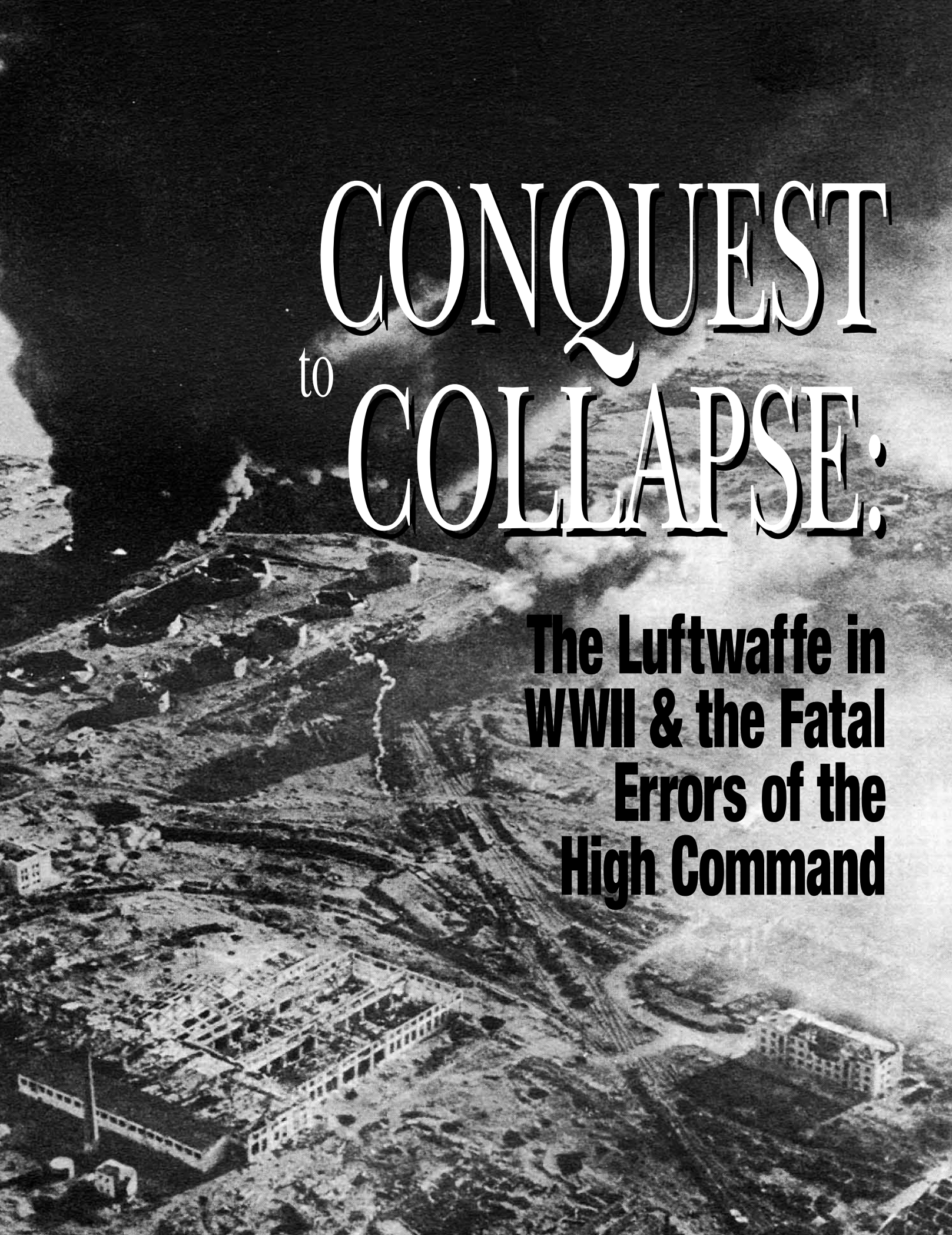
ENDNOTES:

[1] They resembled the mysterious ancient Guanches of the Canary Islands. See the article, "Evidence for the Ancestors of the Guanches as the Founders of Predynastic Egypt," from *Lissner's Historical Review*, website http://joe3998.tripod.com/lissnerhistoricalreview/id2.html.

[2] Many westerners are of the impression that Zarathustra, or Zoroaster, the legendary founder of Zoroastrianism, was a monotheist. However, if there even was such a person as Zarathustra, he was not a monotheist, since there are a number of *yashts* (hymns) in the Avesta (the Zoroastrian bible) that celebrate various "lower gods." Furthermore, in Zoroastrianism the chief god, Ahura Mazda, is not the sole creator; also there are dualistic tendencies in the religion, since the good god Ahura Mazda is counterbalanced by the evil spiritual being (or god) Ahriman. But to get back to the ancient Egyptians, they recognized a "force of all forces," or *neter neteru*, as they called it, which was a sort of indefinable Supreme Being—Who has also been recognized by many or most other "polytheistic" faiths from the earliest times.



CONQUEST to COLLAPSE:

The Luftwaffe in WWII & the Fatal Errors of the High Command

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF. That is true not alone in the great affairs of nations—where it is abundantly demonstrated time after time—but also in the great unfolding ribbon of life at every level. Every day, decisions are made of significance—not significant perhaps in immediate events—but destined to affect lives and fortunes far in the future when the actual source of those consequences is hazy in memory. Revisionism has among its tasks the accurate cataloging of such historical debacles. This is the text of Trevor Constable's lecture delivered in Washington, D.C. at the Fourth International Conference on Authentic History, Real News and the First Amendment, June 21, 2003.

BY TREVOR J. CONSTABLE

IN THE UNFOLDING OF WORLD WAR II, THE FIGHTER ARM OF THE GERMAN LUFTWAFFE was crucially essential to the major German conquests of the early war years. The fighter arm, indeed, was a far more vital and effective war instrument than the German high leadership had anticipated, planned for or realized in the 1930s. From those astonishing early conquests, and other great martial feats in later years, faulty decisions, not made by fighter pilots, inexorably led the fighter arm downward, through unceasing maelstroms of combat, to the collapse of 1945. At that time, some German fighter pilots were flying the world's fastest and most advanced fighter aircraft—jet-propelled machines that were harbingers of future military aviation. Those pilots and their brethren were also the most successful combat pilots in the history of aerial warfare, and had shot down some 70,000 Allied aircraft since 1939. Their illustrious general, Adolf Galland, wounded in combat, was lucky to limp out of his jet fighter and dive into a foxhole at war's end.

There should be Revisionist interest in how this amazing up-and-down history was brought about for the German fighter pilots. There are haunting parallels for us all in the light of what I initially said about crucial but flawed decisions taken by leaders, decisions that drop out of public consciousness as the resultant policies are implemented, and life rolls on. Then, after a time, consequences of those decisions rise up like nests of rattlesnakes to do grievous harm to people innocent of any participation in those decisions. The fighter pilots of the Luftwaffe were perennial victims of earlier, key errors, in such a way that their incredible valor and remarkable achievements as warriors were unable to affect the war's outcome. Their martial skills and devotion to defense of their people were greatly diminished by the high policy decisions of their own side.

We may live to see this basic situation replicated in the current era—involving people who are now living. Many nests of rattlesnakes lie ahead, for our men and women, some of whom may not yet have finished high school.

Black smoke billows from a Luftwaffe target area, *an oil tank "farm" near the Volga River in the Soviet Union. The photograph of the successful "hit" was taken by a Lt. Wundshammer after his dive-bomber pulled out of its dive and headed back to its base. The attack was led by Lt. Jaeckel, an ace for whom this was his 600th sortie. It is interesting to note that, both because of the tremendous investment required in raw materials and fuel, as well as the need for secrecy, Hitler never ordered the development of long-range bombers. Therefore, the German air corps suffered from the inability to conduct long-range, sustained bombing campaigns so effectively used by the RAF and the Americans. This would, according to the author, be a major factor in Germany's defeat.*

In an earlier era, much simpler situations than many of the highly complex involvements in our present-day world affected the lives and fortunes of the German fighter pilots. Many of you will detect these correspondences as we proceed. The overall lesson has been the same since antiquity, and leaves no doubt that this Earth is a gigantic schoolroom, wherein those who do not learn from history are destined to repeat it.

Please bear closely in mind that most people here in this room—whether in the defense industry or not—understand more about the basics of air power than was possessed by air corps generals and air marshals around 1930. Even professional military people at that time had yet to fully grasp how the essentials of air power worked in actual war. Because this fundamental military knowledge has been woven into common understanding in the past 70 years, and is now part of us, we must not think that similar certitudes accompanied the decisions that built up the Luftwaffe in the world prior to 1939. Not so. The adversarial relationship or rivalry between bombardment and pursuit aviation dominated air power thinking in the United States as well as in the 1930s. This exemplified the doctrinal uncertainties of that era in this country. Those uncertainties were only eradicated over Europe in World War II.

TREVOR CONSTABLE

Our great American apostle of air power, Gen. Billy Mitchell, had the root of the matter in him as early as 1920, when he emphasized the primacy of pursuit aviation in securing control of the air so that bombardment aircraft could discharge their primary function substantially unhindered by enemy fighters. That and much more foreseen by Mitchell—including Pearl Harbor—was proved out in the crucible of World War II, long after General Mitchell had been stifled by military inertia. So now, I move to set the stage in describing the peculiar destiny of the Luftwaffe fighter arm—thousands of young men on the threshold of life—in bearing the brunt of many serious errors of high-level judgment.

When Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933, that country had been stripped of all military aviation under the Versailles Treaty. A small cadre of army officers formed an aviation section, concealed within the modest 100,000-man army allowed to Germany—without any airmen—by the treaty. One of the secret projects of this hidden aviation group was an agreement with Soviet Russia, under which selected senior army leaders were sent to Soviet facilities to acquire experience in handling air force units—a different military function to the control of infantry and artillery. Handpicked young graduates of the German Air Transport School at Schleissheim were meanwhile given military flying training at Lipetzk in the Soviet Union. One of those young pilots, now in his 90s, has been a personal friend of mine for almost 40 years.

With Hitler's advent, everything changed. The Lipetzk project was shut down. Under the mask of expanded civil aviation development, the creation of the largest possible air force, as quickly as possible, was initiated. This was a major task at the time. Not alone were there the uncertainties surrounding air power itself, but also, the German economy was in desperate, soup-kitchen straits, including 6 million unemployed. Shortages of food, funding, facilities, experienced leaders, raw materials and foreign currency were but a few of the obstacles to the rapid creation of a modern air force from nothing. Economic strictures exerted major influence on the new Luftwaffe, and were destined to have adverse effects far into the future. Decisions dominated by economic factors, critically affected the physical constitution of the planned air force, and adversely impacted the fighter arm. These consequences lay latent in the hard-driving days of the new Luftwaffe. Maneuvers and exercises did not disclose fundamental errors of theory and doctrine that were inevitable in air power's essential military newness. These consequences emerged into full clarity only later, under the dynamics of war.

World War II actually broke out years ahead of the earliest date anticipated by Hitler, 1941-43. His initial major problem was to survive the critical period right after 1933 when rearmament commenced. The most serious danger in this initial rearmament period, from Hitler's viewpoint, stemmed from Germany's continental location and its immediate proximity to countries far stronger militarily at that time than Germany. Here in America, we have been endowed as a people with what can be called "wide-space thinking" and possessing this innately and naturally, we also think in vast distances, which we have to transit in order to wield military power. People in western Europe think more locally and regionally, and are sharply aware of their neighbors and their potencies. France and Poland both might have acted against German rearmament after 1933. Both had the necessary military power to do so effectively. Both had frontiers with Germany. The Bolshevist bulk of the Soviet Union, Hitler's *bete noir*, loomed near in the east. The Soviet state was putting heavy emphasis on building up the Red air force; already the world's largest numerically by 1933, with a rising annual production of 2,000 machines. Even Czechoslovakia had a formidable military machine and a highly productive arms industry. Hence Hitler's fervent desire to create the largest possible air force as rapidly as possible—to deter any interference with German rearmament and to protect the National Socialist revolution of which he was the architect.

This was the politico-economic format within which the Luftwaffe was created quickly, from zero, and serious hidden errors arose through urgency, haste and strictures in raw materials. These errors were magnified by elements of personal prejudice and emotional bias. We can now describe and understand various significant decisions—rational enough in their time and circumstances—that reacted eventually in a compounding fashion to the detriment of Germany's war effort. The German fighter pilots shed a lot of their own blood in consequence.

Hermann Goering was Hitler's 1933 aviation commissioner, and chosen political successor. Goering appointed Erhard Milch as his state secretary, and assigned to him the executive responsibility to give Hitler an "instant" air force. This Luftwaffe was also to be Hitler's trump card in European politics. Milch was one of the most effective men in the Hitler government. He closely resembled our own American "production generals" of

The Fighter General

Adolf Galland became a legend in the Spanish Civil War *and WWII. Gallant Galland, well known and admired by his enemies as an honorable and chivalrous foe, was the youngest general grade officer of either side in World War II. At age 29 he was more competent in aerial combat, strategy and tactics than many of the experts twice his age. He rose through the ranks of the new Luftwaffe to become major general and eventually lieutenant general. Galland's war ended in 1945 shortly after he was shot down and seriously injured while engaging a formation of U.S. Army Air Force P-51 Mustang fighters. He commanded the 3 J/88 squadron equipped with He-51 fighter-bombers. The squadron was known as the Mickey Mouse Squadron. He first started using the Mickey Mouse insignia in Spain, usually painting it on the side of every plane he personally flew as in the picture at right. Above, Galland takes a break during the Battle of Britain with his hunting dog while wearing a winter flying suit captured from a downed enemy bomber crewmember. Above, center, Galland with signature cigar. Upper right: A serious discussion is held. The civilian is Kurt Tank, aircraft designer and manufacturer.*

World War II—men like Bunky Knudsen, David Sarnoff, Henry Kaiser and others. Milch attained no great historical stature through his service to Germany, but long before Nazi days, when he was far too busy to be bothered joining the Nazi Party, Milch was a business executive of power and vision. As head of Lufthansa in the 1920s, Milch had built the airline from zero into an international transportation complex that handled more passengers yearly in 1930 than the airlines of Britain and France combined. By rapidly opening international passenger routes, Milch became one of the outstanding airline pioneers of the world, those tough, visionary businessmen like Rickenbacker and Hughes who turned air transportation from a risky adventure into the vulgarized miracle we have today.

Milch had been an observer flyer in World War I, and commanded a fighter squadron with the rank of captain. From war service he moved over seamlessly into German civil aviation, then in its struggling infancy. His drive, vision and organizing ability eventually made him chief executive of Lufthansa. Milch was continuously engaged in aviation and its development from World War I right up to Hitler's advent. This included clandestine preliminary preparations, through civil aviation procurement, for the Luftwaffe to come. Milch's total immersion in aviation produced in him the kind of organic grasp of this new technical instrument that few men in Germany and no military officer possessed, including old ex-fighter pilot Hermann Goering, formerly Milch's paid lobbyist, but now his boss. Goering soon became jealous of Milch's abilities and acted to limit his scope. From the time he became state secretary under Goering, Milch had a fractious, inharmonious relationship with the Luftwaffe General Staff, who envied his abilities, refused to take seriously the general's rank that was soon granted to him, and produced bureaucratic obstructions. This rivalry and divisiveness were counterproductive.

Milch's practical expertise envisioned a balanced force of bombers, fighters and army support units. Milch understood the significance of the four-engine, long-range, strategic bomber for times ahead. Hitler regarded Bolshevik Russia—not England—as Germany's mortal enemy. That made the development of long-range bombers essential to the future Luftwaffe—the ability to strike by air at Soviet industry as far east as the Ural Mountains. The four-engine strategic bomber was referred to later within the hierarchy of the new Luftwaffe, as the "Ural bomber," signifying its purpose. This was the premier air weapon of the future, foreseen already in both Britain and America.

That same aircraft would be able to fly right around Britain from continental bases, and cover also the western sea approaches to the British Isles for blockade purposes. This was another, obvious strategic role for the four-engine heavy bomber,

although Hitler craved friendship and cooperation with Britain and had no intention or desire to attack the British.

Milch arranged for a gifted army officer, Col. Walther Wever, to be the first chief of the Luftwaffe general staff. Wever had been Gen. Eric Ludendorff's able adjutant on the Western Front in World War I. Wever was convinced not only of the need for a long-range bomber, but also of the pressing urgency to get going on the project. Three years would be needed to get a prototype aircraft into test. Wever saw the heavy bomber as essential and in mid-1935 he put his prestige and authority behind two Ural bomber prototypes, one from Junkers and another from Dornier. These promising prototypes were completed but never developed. Wever's death in a plane crash in April 1936 removed the focus from the Ural bomber within the Air Ministry. Opponents of the Ural bomber fought its development mainly with economic arguments, such as cost and raw materials requirements. The lack of wide-space thinking also exerted its influence. Conventional medium bombers were alleged to be sufficient for the Luftwaffe by opponents of the Ural bomber.

These officers and technical personnel lacked the vision of Gen. Wever, or the imagination to conceive the strategic situation certain to be created by war with Russia, which any reader of *Mein Kampf* could anticipate.

The long-range bomber was the theoretical core of air power laid down for the military world by the Italian Gen. Guilio Douhet, in the 1920s, but not yet fully accepted in Germany. Dropping the Ural bomber was one of those high decisions destined to help lose the war for Germany. By April 1937 Goering's authorization had been obtained by Gen. Kesselring to kill the strategic bomber program. One of the consequences of this step was that the Luftwaffe never had any serious way of attacking the giant, highly productive Soviet aircraft industry. This meant that the entire production of that massive industry, factories already working round the clock with 30,000 workers per shift long before the war, had to be dealt with by the German fighter pilots, after that production reached the front ready for action. All that production also arrived on one front—the Eastern Front. We are speaking here of scores of thousands of aircraft. German aircraft production, a fraction of Soviet production, had to be farmed out to six separate aerial fronts.

Opposition to the Ural bomber program existed also in the Technical Office, headed since 1936 by the famous fighter ace Ernst Udet. This basically good man was to be surrounded by the intrigue that attends military procurement everywhere, and with which he was unable fully to cope, despite the protection and guidance of Milch, the state secretary. Udet's preferences and aeronautical passions lay elsewhere, more in keeping with his carefree temperament and daring nature.

Udet was the man who brought the dive-bomber to the Luftwaffe from America where he found it. This was truly a mixed blessing, with a nasty downside. Udet was the idol of the new generation of German fighter pilots then being trained. Udet was beloved by the German public as a former war hero and daring stunt pilot who had enthralled them at air shows. A happy, fun-loving man, Udet loved flying, women and the party scene. All this was entirely right—for Udet. Heading the Technical Office of the German air ministry was, for him, entirely wrong. Udet never actually wanted or sought the job, but he was bullied and pushed into its acceptance by the overpowering Hermann Goering—a buddy and fellow ace from World War I—and now commander in chief of the Luftwaffe. Their early experiences imbued them both with an unfortunate mind-set.

Old fighter pilots from the pioneer days of the World War I harbored and indulged contempt for lumbering big airplanes, which they had been able readily to shoot down over the Western Front. Both Goering and Udet, as former youthful aces, suffered from this contemptuous attitude, and neither was able to rise above it in Germany's interest. They just plain did not like heavy, lumbering planes. This emotional angle helped kill the Ural bomber, and it also influenced disastrously the Luftwaffe's air transport forces. Luftwaffe neglect of air transport was a major nail in Germany's coffin, but that is another story of high-level incompetence, for another time.

The long-range bomber was the core of air power. Dropping the Ural bomber was one of those high decisions destined to help lose the war for Germany.

Expressed by Udet as a preference for smaller aircraft, this aversion to big, slow planes played into and was reinforced by Hitler's urgent hammering for the largest air force as soon as possible. This situation created the dive-bombing obsession in the growing Luftwaffe. Loaded decisions were unwittingly made here, in the infancy of modern air power.

Udet had imported the dive-bomber from America into Germany, and became its most enthusiastic advocate, giving demonstrations of its military value in hitting small targets, at a time when the Luftwaffe had no adequate bombsight in inventory. Dive-bombers were relatively cheap, and relatively quick to produce. They were able to actually hit targets, when straight and level bombers could only straddle targets, with marginal effectiveness. The Stukas used in Spain also proved their close support value. Dive-bombers thus fitted ideally into the political, economic and military formats of the day. Large numbers of dive-bombers, mainly the Stuka type, were ordered and soon were equipping numerous close support squadrons. How did this react adversely on the fighter pilots? Serving fighter pilots who had been through the full year or more of exacting training essential to the creation of an effective fighter pilot were transferred away from the fighter arm to the rapidly expanded dive-bomber squadrons, in order to fill up the numerous vacancies for pilots. Newer, greener pilots were then posted, as they were slowly trained, to fill up the fighter squadrons. This reduced the efficiency and professional quality of these units. The fighter squadrons were not fashionable like the Stukas. Until World War II clearly defined the dynamics of modern air power, the Luftwaffe fighter pilots were sharply aware that they were definitely secondary in the thinking and dispositions of the Luftwaffe High Command. That is why highly trained fighter pilots could be so blithely transferred to the new dive-bomber squadrons. The fighter pilots transferred to the fashionable dive-bombers were disquieted, disappointed and sometimes enraged.

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Bombers—medium bombers and dive-bombers—were the

Former German Field Marshall Erhard Milch *was charged with murder and cruel treatment of POWs and with participating in experiments dealing with effects of high altitude and freezing. He was convicted in 1947 and sentenced to life in prison. Above, Milch (far right) plays cards with other Nuremberg defendants. In his book* Hitler's Jewish Soldiers*, author Bryan Mark Rigg revealed that Milch was of Jewish ancestry. Hitler, however, declared Milch Aryan. He was awarded the* Ritterkreuz *for his performance during the campaign in Norway.*

primary arm in the prewar Luftwaffe. A little later, there was a devastating, unforeseen consequence of this high-level error of judgment. After Poland showed the Stukas again highly successful, against a weak foe with no protecting fighter power, inordinate high command expectations for success of the dive-bombers arose in the Battle of Britain.

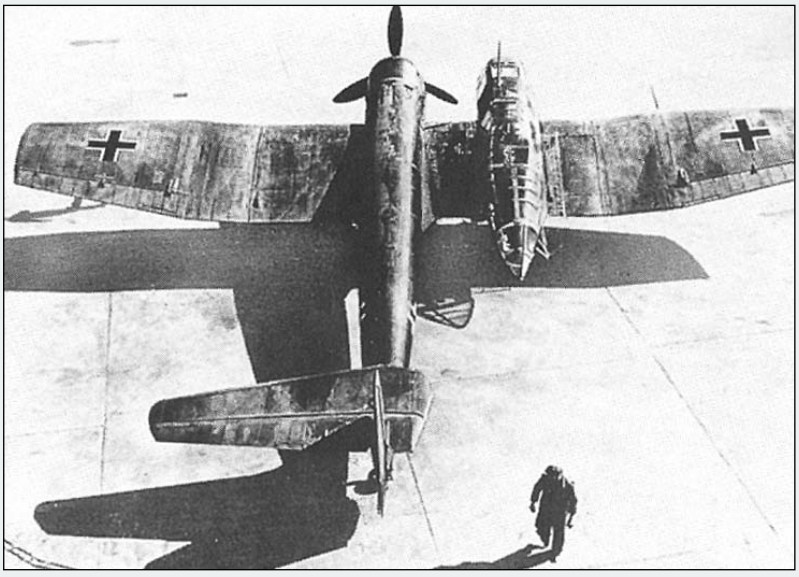
Neither the Polish situation, nor the demonstration atmosphere under which Udet had introduced the Stuka to the Luftwaffe General Staff, existed over Britain. Spitfires and Hurricanes of the RAF did. Highly maneuverable and heavily armed, the British fighters jumped on the dive-bombers when they were at their most vulnerable—during their pullout. The RAF shot the Stukas out of the English skies in dozens. The Stukas that went down in flames could be replaced, but those highly trained fighter pilots who had been torn from their proper postings in Messerschmitt-109s (Me-109s) were gone forever.

This was a severe personnel loss, with a powerful psychological dimension: throughout the Fighter Arm, pilots had former squadron mates shot to bits in those slow, vulnerable Stuka dive bombers. The Stukas had to be withdrawn from the Battle of Britain, for they did not belong in the same skies with RAF fighters. Their withdrawal was a stinging humiliation for Udet and also for Gen. Jeschonnek, the chief of the Luftwaffe General Staff, who had backed the dive-bombing fever with missionary zeal. This fever got so out of hand that specifications of all bombers in the Luftwaffe had been changed to include diving performance. This included even the four-engine Heinkel-177, which weighed over 30 tons, being required to dive: A lecture could be delivered on what this absurd, irrational requirement led to, but on its face, it reflects poorly on the high command of the Luftwaffe, and on Udet's performance as head of the Technical Department of the Air Ministry.

The peacetime-trained fighter pilots ignominiously lost in the Stuka debacle over Britain were an appalling example of pilot wastage. Their invaluable skills and talents were seriously needed in the fighter-to-fighter struggle that settled the issue in the Battle of Britain. Expert fighter pilot availability was part of the narrow margin in that battle, for when it started, the fighter arm was already running short of pilots. The Stuka debacle over Britain was also a contributing factor to the disintegration of Ernst Udet, who eventually committed suicide when fighter production under his control languished.

What can best be regarded as a procurement error also adversely affected Luftwaffe fighter pilot fortunes in the Battle of Britain. Indeed, this procurement mistake, probably rooted in procurement politics, can be seen as influencing the whole delicate balance of that particular struggle. The German Air Ministry had decided on the Me-109 as the Luftwaffe's standard fighter before the war, after an extended competition with a fighter built by Heinkel, the He-112. This Heinkel fighter was competitive in performance with the Me-109, as was the follow-on Heinkel fighter, the He-100, which was lighter and cheaper to produce. Both these Heinkel fighters were actually produced and sold to other governments, including the Soviet Union, because the German Air Ministry would not budge from the Me-109 as the exclusive standard fighter. The ideal solution was for Germany to have had both the Messerschmitt and Heinkel fighters available. The German pilots were not well served by decisions that reduced their effectiveness in the closely fought struggle of 1940.

In the fighter battle over Britain, the Me-109 suffered from

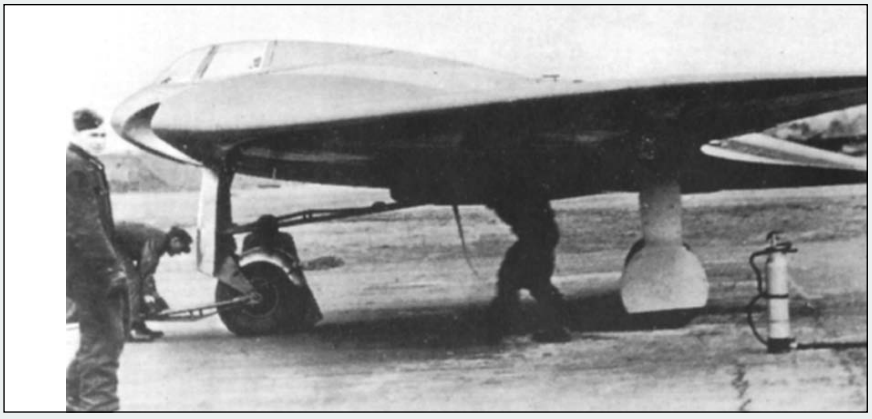


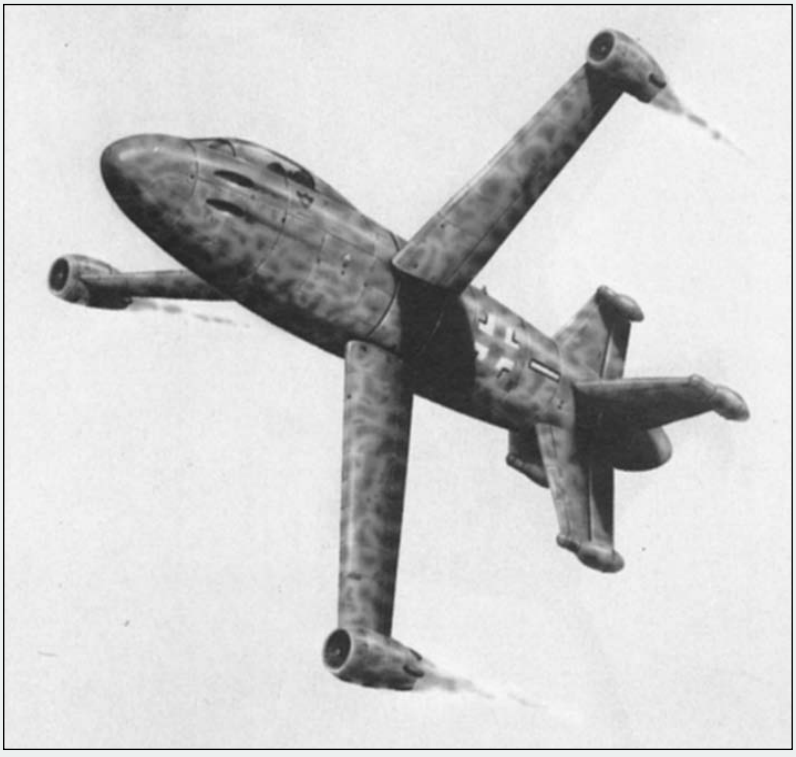
Nazi Advances in Aeronautics

During World War II, the National Socialists made some amazing advances in avionoics and aircraft technology . . .

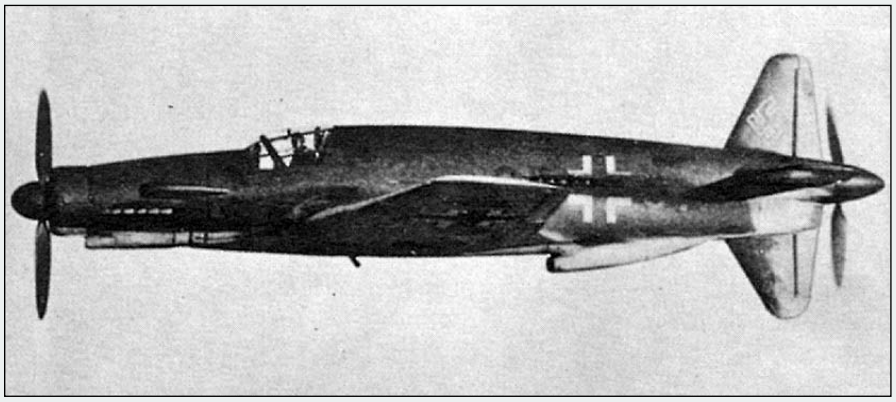
Above, the Bv 141 V12, a tactical plane, originating from Blohm und Vos Abt, Glugzeugbau, with its offset cockpit pod, gave the crew a better all-around view for reconnaissance purposes.

Right, the Gotha Go-229 (previously designated Horten Ho-IX) was a production version. Designed by the Horten brothers at the end of World War II, it was an experimental "flying wing" jet fighter. The brothers also pioneered a special radar absorbing paint, giving the plane some of the stealth characteristics that were used on the U.S. B-2 bomber 50 years later.



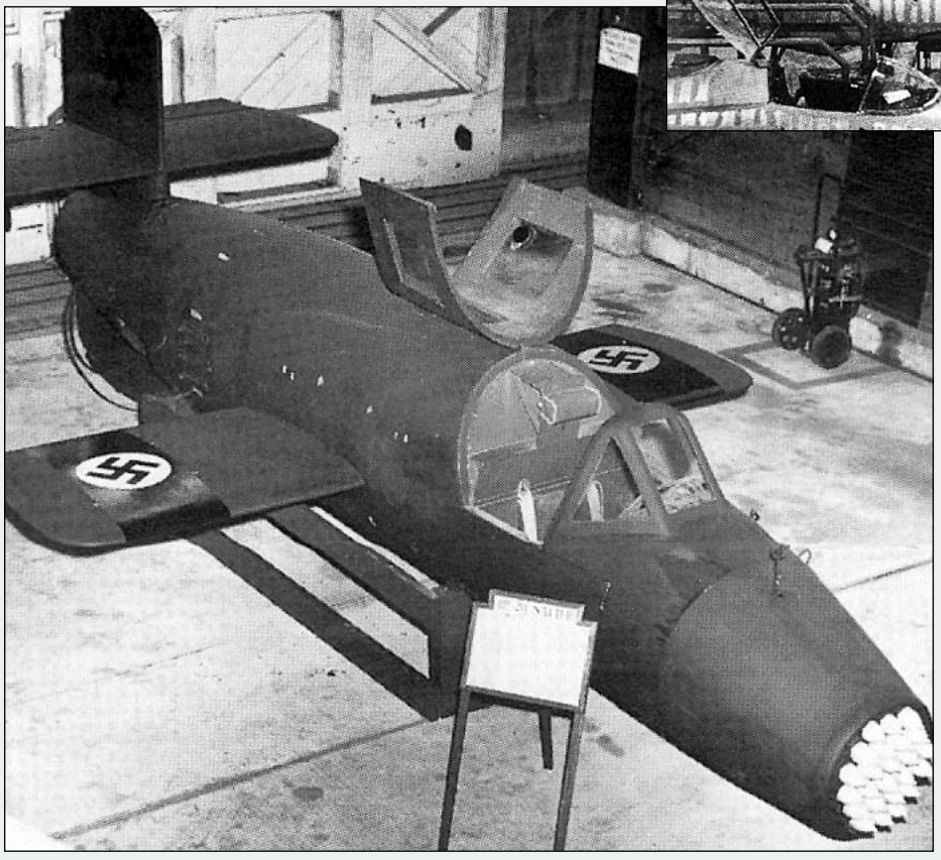


Left, one of the most unusual fighter projects to be devised during the life of the Third Reich was the vertical takeoff *Focke-Wulf Triebflugeljager* (rotating-wing fighter) created by Prof. Erich von Holst and Dr. Kuchemann of the Gottingen Technical University. The Triebflugel was an aircraft whose wings were replaced by three airfoil-shaped rotor blades, each with a Lorin/HWK ramjet/rocket propulsion unit at its tip. By March 1944, it had been ascertained that the Lorin ramjet would work efficiently up to altitudes of 59,000 feet. The *Triebflugeljager* had the advantages of high efficiency, low fuel consumption, light weight and a high ceiling; furthermore, its engine would run on any combustible medium, gaseous or liquid, that could be vaporized. Cheap fuels and oils worked well for it. The plane was able to take off vertically at a high speed from just about anywhere.



This powerful machine was the Dornier Do-335, a new twin-engined push-pull fighter. The unique configuration of this aircraft conferred on it a phenomenal performance that no other piston-engined aircraft has ever achieved or surpassed. Technically innovative and heavily armed, the Do-335 possessed great potential as a combat aircraft. On June 7, 1943, Adolf Hitler himself intervened to expedite both the Do-335 and Me-262 programs. But, delayed by high-ranking indecision and Allied bombing raids, the Do-335 simply ran out of time.

Right, this underground factory at Tarthun, near Magdeburg, is in fact a converted salt mine. Arrayed here are rows of unfinished He-162 fighter jets, intended to intercept the Allied bomber formations that were devastating Germany in 1944-45. The He-162 was a small, simple, jet-propelled aircraft that was to be flown by pilots who had received rudimentary flight training. Production of these "hot" aircraft had totaled only 116 when Germany capitulated. Several He-162 units were formed, but combat was forbidden, as they were not combat ready. There were some encounters with Allied fighters, but no actual combat is known to have occurred.



Left, the Bachem Ba.349, sometimes known as a "*Natter*" ("Viper"), was a semi-expendable, vertical takeoff, rocket-powered aircraft designed to zoom up to the height of an incoming bomber stream in a fraction of the time a conventional interceptor would require. Bachem's BP 20 was officially redesignated the Ba.349. The Ba.349 was a low-cost aircraft, designed from non-strategic materials, which could be assembled by semi-skilled workers. The Ba.349 was to be launched automatically, powered to height under autopilot with radio guidance, the pilot only bringing the aircraft under his control toward the final phase of the mission to direct the on-board rocket battery onto the bombers. From launch to attack, the mission was to last only a few minutes.

a crippling lack of range. After escorting bombers to southeastern England, the 109 had about 10 minutes of combat time before the pilots had to race back across the English Channel to France, hoping they could make it before they ran out of fuel. Scores of them did not, and went into the drink with undamaged fighters. German veterans of that battle have described to me the desperate anxiety induced by going into combat with the RAF with one eye on their fuel gauge, and the knowledge that they may well be drowned if they stayed to fight too long. The Heinkel fighter had considerably more than 100 miles of additional range over the 109—a key and crucial asset in the fighter battle. The Heinkel also was more maneuverable than the 109, which was inferior in maneuverability to the Spitfire. The Heinkel fighters also had a forgiving, wide-track undercarriage, and superior ground handling, which were more than a slight advantage in avoiding landing damage.

The narrow undercarriage of the Me-109 was a pilots' hazard throughout the war. The narrow landing gear led to more than 10,000 landing accidents—especially on crude airfields in Russia. These were self-inflicted casualties without gunfire, but just as burdensome on repair facilities and material, plus the usual downtime of the aircraft. Steady degradation of German pilot training as the war progressed increased this drawback. In the sphere of training, there lay yet another deadly burden imposed on the workaday pilots by those who silently made the decisions.

When war came in September of 1939, the Luftwaffe had but one fighter pilot training school. This reflects the secondary status of fighters in the prewar Luftwaffe, since there were three bomber pilot schools. All this is incredible today, but it happened because in the 1930s air power was as yet poorly understood. Hitler, however, understood the situational essentials better than his air chiefs.

After the Munich Conference when Britain launched a massive aerial rearmament program, Hitler actually called on his Luftwaffe chiefs for a fivefold increase of Luftwaffe strength. A year later, only some slight reorganization had been achieved, and Hitler never got that fivefold increase. The errors and bad administrative decisions that dogged fighter pilot training in the Luftwaffe thereafter drove German fighter pilot quality steadily downward from prewar excellence, to entry levels far below the pilot quality of the Americans and British.

By 1944, German boys were taking the Me-109 into combat with less than 150 hours as trainees, and sometimes less than 100 hours, against their American counterparts with more than 400 hours. The British similarly trained countless thousands of pilots in their Empire Air Training scheme, while the Germans struggled on with hand-to-mouth training regimens, inadequate facilities and the further harassment of fuel shortage.

Over on the Eastern Front, where that phenomenal flood of Russian aircraft production had to be dealt with, far-seeing Russian pilot training programs from the 1930s had produced a horde of pilots to man those aircraft. There were pilots available also for the thousands of augmenting Lend Lease aircraft from Britain and the United States. Little wonder is it, then, that the German fighter pilots eventually became accustomed to odds of 50 to 1. Nevertheless they soldiered on to the end, under physical conditions of grim privation, while the flying hordes just kept coming out of Russia's intact factories.

History will certainly say that the German pilots deserved better high leadership than people like Goering, with his accusations of cowardice against the fighter pilots, once the war laid bare the consequences of high-level derelictions. You see now how the most consistent element in the German air war effort was the ability and the sacrifice of the fighter arm. There were some truly phenomenal martial achievements by the best of those men, not even remotely matched by those responsible for guiding and equipping them in war.

Consider the combat record of a fighter pilot of whom few here are likely ever to have heard. This is an example of bravery that is emblematic of the fighter arm's best efforts, made year after year, all the way from conquest to collapse. He is unknown outside the fast-diminishing fraternity of surviving German aces: Lt. Herbert Rollwage. This pilot had only 85 confirmed aerial victories, which is not especially noteworthy when more than 100 German pilots were credited with over 100 victories each. This incredible individual was talented at the most awesome and terrifying task faced by fighter pilots anywhere: tackling the streams of massed American bombers in daylight. Pilots I have known who survived multiple assaults on the American bomber streams have described to me what it was like to fly against a formation of 300 B-17s, from which 3,000 machine guns spouted death. They described how all their past lives passed before them amid the storms of tracer as their comrades fell in flames all around them. Rollwage survived this hellish gauntlet, with a victory, at least 44 times. Miraculously, he survived the war and lived until the 1980s.

High officials are rarely worthy of our complete trust, even when they have high political pedigrees and glamorous connections to the past.

Rollwage was the most successful German pilot in this lethal task. Because he shot down 44 of the four-engine bombers, this one pilot put more than 500 Allied airmen out of the war. He succeeded because of his sustained individual courage and warrior heart, which overcame the consequences of those numerous faulty decisions, some of which I have described, and there are many more for which there is no time here at this conference now.

There is nevertheless a lesson for today. Surely this chapter from the past teaches us that high officials are rarely worthy of our complete trust, even when they have distinguished records, high political pedigrees, and glamorous connections to the past. What we do not learn from history, we repeat. That is the law that supersedes all others, taught in the hard school of life on our Earth. ❖

TREVOR JAMES CONSTABLE *of California spent 31 years as a merchant marine radio officer and also became an internationally respected aviation historian and author. He is the official biographer of Col. Erich Hartmann of Germany, considered the greatest fighter pilot of all time, and also of the legendary Adolf Galland.* *See page 79 to see how you can get Mr. Constable's lecture on VHS video or audio cassette.*

Contemporary Problems in Revisionism:

Nationalism, Globalism & World Revolution

By Dr. M. Raphael Johnson, Ph.D.

This article is the text of the introductory remarks of Barnes Review Editor M. Raphael Johnson at the Fourth International Conference on Authentic History, Real News & the First Amendment in Washington, D.C. on June 20, 2003.

Dear friends, I want to personally thank you—my fellow nationalists and patriots—for coming today. To support this struggle in such dark and painful times is truly a sacrifice, and one, I know, made in the full knowledge of the possible consequences. I realize that not all of you are wealthy, nor are all of you local. You have made sacrifices for this cause, for our people, and for the truth over politically motivated mythology, and, for that, you have our appreciation.

I, on behalf of the staff of The Barnes Review and the *American Free Press*, also want to thank those who—in the midst of the struggle—have lost family, friends or jobs in service to the truth.

I want to thank those women here present who have served our people by caring for their children at home—often at great sacrifice to themselves—rather than sacrificing them on the altar of modern capitalism and their personal convenience.

I want to thank our home schoolers, who represent the single healthiest element in American society right now and are the largest long-term threat to elite hegemony in American life.

I want to thank those of you who gave up lucrative careers to fight for the truth full time. More of you are needed.

I want to thank those who have been kicked out of schools, kicked out of parties, kicked out of bars and restaurants; in short, kicked out of American life, for standing up for the truth over the plastic illusions of American politics and its administered, make-believe debate.

I want to thank those who have ever been threatened, intimidated, attacked or abused by the ignorant, drugged-up, television-soaked, manipulated, indebted, amoral, identityless, smug, arrogant, swaggering, mindless, materialist, alienated, overworked, miserable, controlled, overtaxed, frightened and insecure couch potatoes in American society, in service to the truth. We know what this is like.

I want to thank those who followed the example of Russell Kirk who threw his television out the window, rather than permit his family to be assaulted by our enemies any further.

I want to thank those who spent time in prison on make-believe charges in the service to the truth; your sacrifice was not in vain.

I want to thank everyone who has refused to be afraid; who has refused to be intimidated in these times when they are directly and specifically targeted as "subversives." There is only a handful left; many of them are here in this room.

Finally, I want to thank whoever is monitoring this event for the Southern Poverty Law Center or the Anti-Defamation League, for you prove to us that we are having an impact, and that you are scared to death of us.

Who would have thought that after all these years of worrying about Marxism, liberalism, the Soviet Union and so many other evils, it would be a Republican administration and the Christian Coalition that would impose the most horrific authoritarian regime over America in her history?

It is the stated goal of this present government that the military be purged of all anti-war and anti-Zionist elements. From the mouth of Sen. Santorum of Pennsylvania, the academy is so purged and, from many elements within the Bush administration, the State Department will also be purged.

This is unprecedented in American life, and is beyond even the wildest predictions of a generation ago.

The recent revisions to the so-called "Patriot Act"—including the resurrection of the old Civil War statute removing *habeas corpus* for "political crimes"—have gone unopposed except by a handful.

The American sheeple, in poll after poll, have said they are willing to give up some of their freedom for security against "terrorists." They seem to have no problem going 100 miles per hour on the Beltway, though, and they also seem to have no problem pumping Xanax or Paxil into their systems either.

But they demand strict protections against the strategically mass-produced illusion of a massive "terror invasion."

The Taliban in Afghanistan, according to UN statistics, by 2000, had wiped out heroin production in their country. Now, heroin floods western capitals, the poppies popping up throughout Afghanistan and elsewhere in the region. Ninety percent of the heroin in the United Kingdom is from Afghanistan, and it is grown almost solely in the areas controlled by the Northern Alliance, which automatically means, under the nose of the CIA.

The 2002 heroin crop was the largest in Afghan history.

According to a poll conducted by the University of Maryland, a full 75 percent of Americans supported the war against Iraq. About 66 percent claimed that no war should be conducted in the future without UN approval. About 50 percent supported war against Iran, according to *The Los Angeles Times*, while only 36 percent disagreed with that upcoming war.

The Matrix is not just a movie. But confinement in "the Matrix" is more comfortable and easier than the struggle for authentic citizenship and culture. It is easier to be a couch potato than a man. Ignorance is not only painless, it can be quite comfortable. The resistance, it appears, is the domain of a few. But then again, history is made by tiny but determined minorities. The masses are inert.

As I stand here, a world state exists, albeit in a *de facto* sense only. The world's elite—those rogue elements represented at the Bilderberg and Trilateral meetings—have, through trial and error, set up their financial, media and military control over most of the globe, with only a few holdouts such as North Korea, Cuba, Malaysia and Belarus.

There is no "coming" world state; it is a present reality, and it is a common belief that no government, no state, can function outside of it. Credits, loans and access to lucrative markets—in short, their political career—depend on their cooperation with the global empire, run largely right out of this town we are standing in right now [Washington].

In order to justify the consolidation of empire, the System—by that I mean specifically the economic elites, academic elites, political leaders and media—has invented a dazzling array of lies, myths and fables about history, ethnicity, nationhood and religion that is meant to show that the creation and consolidation of empire was inevitable. In fact, that globalization is "inevitable" is invariably the first argument from the world's elites in defending their positions of privilege.

On the other hand, there is an immediate and largely unexplored link between foreign policy and domestic control. Within the globe's first post-modern empire—we might want to call it McEmpire—in order to extend military and economic power abroad, the agenda for the domestic front must be increasing regimentation and uniformity in labor, culture, ethnicity and race.

The point is that if American citizens are to maximize their investment into the New Global Economic Order by being good consumers; to continually push the boundaries of their indebtedness in order to mop up the excess production of the massive capitalist conglomerates, then institutions that compete for loyalty, such as the family, the ethnos, the trade union or the family farm, must either be destroyed or rendered relative and symbolic.

> I want to thank those who have thrown their televisions out the window, rather than permitting your family to be assaulted by our enemies any further.

This is the true origin and purpose of the mass-produced "multicultural radicalism" in America today.

If the goal of the world's economic elites—and, most certainly, it is for their interests primarily that McEmpire is being consolidated in the first place—is the creation of a single global market for goods, services and labor, then the central concepts of ethnicity, family and nationhood are unnecessary irritants. Obviously, it is more efficient to have a single global empire with one currency, one central bank, one homogenous market, one ruling ideology and one set of regulations and customs than to have hundreds or thousands of independent ethnic groups to contend with, each with its own language and set of economic and political regulations.

In other words, advanced, statist capitalism demands complete global uniformity; but such uniformity can only be brought about by a multibillion-dollar system of manipulation and psychological warfare; not to mention military adventurism.

Therefore, McEmpire has but one primary enemy: ethnic nationalism.

The modern state's primary function, then, in the economic arena domestically is the creation of uniformity. Culture is destroyed by relativizing it, rendering it purely ornamental and symbolic, rendering it completely prosaic and apolitical. Such pedestrian ethnicity is precisely what is advocated by the apostles of diversity and multiculturalism so well subsidized in American life.

And, while it is true that McEmpire will encourage a more political orientation among some American ethnics such as the Hispanics, this is a matter of temporary convenience only, and does not obscure the ultimate goal of absolute global uniformity, ethnically, economically and culturally.

The global economy, it seems, drives domestic policy and the

demands of the global economy create domestic ideology.

Present movements for ethnic self-determination, so numerous that there are few states that can brag to be innocent of one, are the ultimate in ethno-nationalist praxis. These national (and, occasionally, religious) groups are, first, self-consciously placing their cultural patrimony as the central ethical component of their social views as well as, secondly, questioning the legitimacy of the state to speak for them, and to protect their patrimony.

Far from the state being synonymous with the nation (which is the common cliché in much of today's political science), the nation has delegitimized the state and has asserted itself above and beyond the confines of the bureaucracy.

Modern states are bureaucratic systems of coercion seeking their own self-perpetuation and legitimacy, while ethnic nations are cultural entities expressing a common will. States are run by quantitative measures; the *ethnos* is purely qualitative. States rule by abstract decrees; nations are ruled by the historical experience and the cultural complex that that experience engenders—in other words, tradition. States are formal and bureaucratic, nations are informal and communal.

There is not a single state on the globe that is not at war with at least one of its subject nations.

Nations and states are not only different, but are at war. The battle against the New World Order is being waged by ethnic separatists. And I thank God for them. I laugh at many of the emerging nations of the globe, such as in Ukraine, Serbia-Montenegro, or Slovenia who equate national independence with membership in the European Union or the United Nations.

I say to them: to the West, the newly emerging nations are little more than markets.

However, statesmen such as Dr. Matihir Mohammed of Malaysia and President Alexander Lukashenka of Belarus have continually registered excellent economic growth, substantial social security for the less fortunate and the aged, as well as substantial popularity for their governments, while rejecting all "assistance" from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the American State Department.

Lukashenka has refused all IMF credits and loans and the shock treatment meted out by international financial institutions. Elite economists from Harvard, TV pundits on CNN and the run-of-the-mill, Metro-riding Beltway hacks all predicted economic collapse. Prosperity is impossible outside of the "global community," they intoned. In fact prosperity is defined as being a part of it.

As the elite and their kept academics made such statements, Lukashenka erected tariff walls with the West and turned east. Now, the Belarusian economy is the strongest in the former Soviet republics, with a yearly GDP growth rate of 10 percent, and an unemployment rate of just over 2 percent, while still maintaining a civilized social safety net for the elderly and infirm, and those displaced by privatization.

Unsurprisingly, there is some quiet talk among the establishment in this town that Lukashenka will be the next Milosevic, and the State Department is pouring millions into the coffers of his electoral opponents. As the CIA organized the opposition to Milosevic in Serbia, they are organizing it in Belarus.

However, in 2001, the parliamentary elections went heavily for Lukashenka, and the observers' reports showed no signs of intimidation, violence of irregularity. Predictably, though, the U.S. State Department refused to recognize the elections as "democratic," and the IMF has referred to Lukashenka as "a problem."

Our purpose at this conference then, is to develop our understanding of the institutions and ideas that created this present global System. Before any serious action can take place, a proper understanding of our present situation must exist. Discussion of tactics is necessary, but only within a proper ideological and historical context.

Rather than representing a mature philosophical alternative to the entrenched neo-liberalism of the global elite, the American resistance—by and large—has been a small group of eccentric losers with no unifying ideas and no shared vision.

The purpose, then, of this conference is to begin the long task of correcting this.

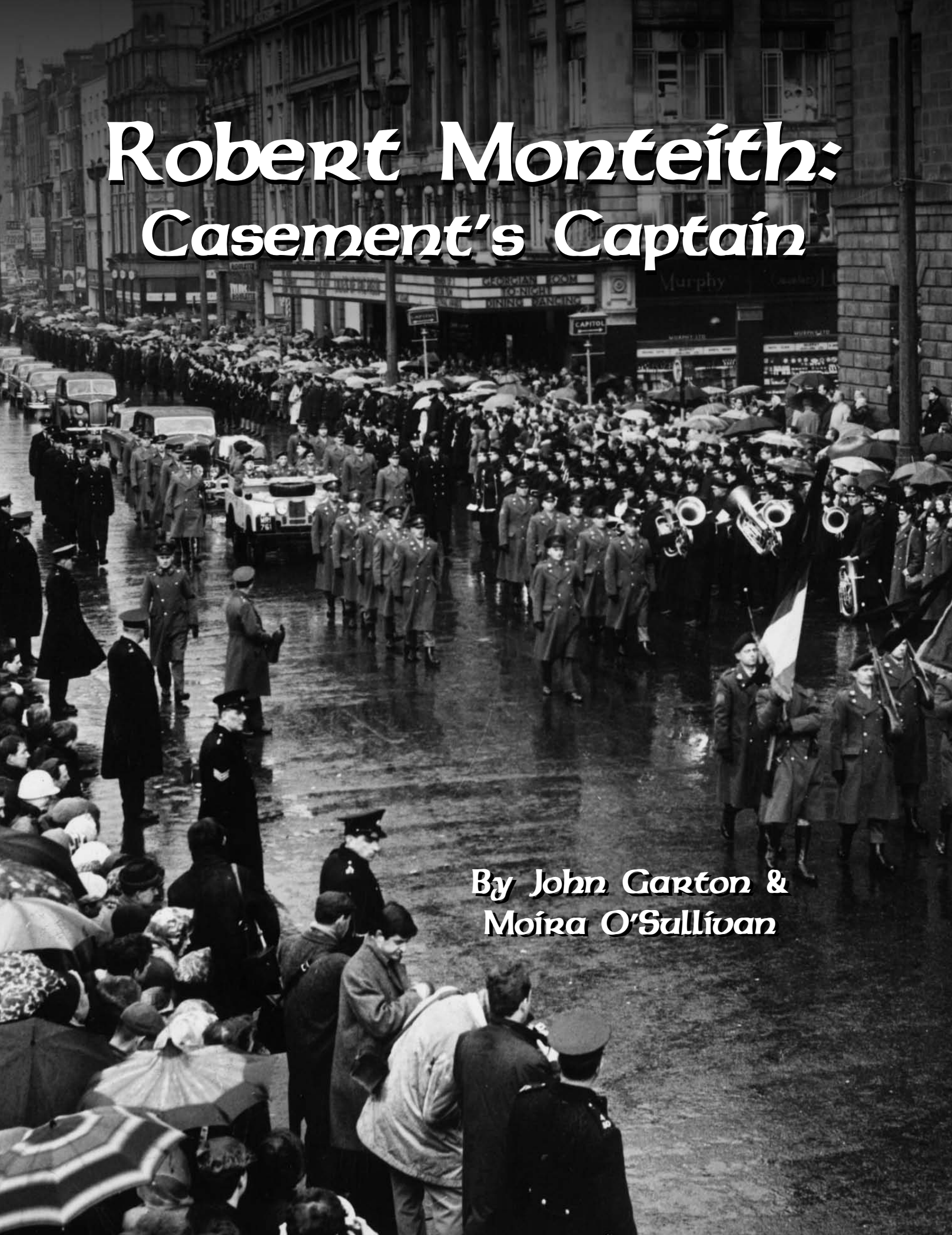
Without the coherence, devotion and mutual support of ethnicity; without the similarities in appearance, history, religion and basic moral prescriptions, civil society is impossible. Without the unity of tradition—which always is the product of ethnic history—political debate becomes as it is in America: shrill, hackneyed, completely administered and mass-produced.

Political debate in the "western liberal democracies" is not discursive; it has nothing to do with reason. Political discourse in the "western democracies" is the institutionalization of manipulation largely based on replacing rational discourse with symbolism, with each symbol containing its carefully prepared conditioned response. Whether it is a picture of Saddam Hussein in military uniform, meaningless buzzwords such as "democracy" or "fundamentalism" or equally abstract catchphrases such as "human rights abuse," such words and phrases are meticulously created symbols designed to evoke a response.

The reality is that the similarities engendered by ethnic membership and a politics based upon such a shared will are prerequisites for the overcoming of alienation and disconnectedness so common in the mass-produced, virtual American lifestyle. When language, historical experience and religion are the same, then strangers are not really strangers, they are comrades and compatriots.

The alienated, suburban university professor, bureaucrat or CNN junkie will never understand that, and I feel sorry for them. Their mental capacities are subject to continual atrophy as they are daily fed the virtual reality the System uses to control the thought processes of what is left of the citizenry. ❖

Matthew Raphael Johnson received his Ph.D. in political theory and comparative politics from the University of Nebraska at Lincoln. His first book, *The Third Rome: Holy Russia, Tsarism and Orthodoxy* is already frightening and upsetting the armchair scholars from Maryland to St. Petersburg. Harsh and difficult, Johnson's polemical style is either loved or hated. His basic political thesis is that ethnicity is the greatest determinant in world politics, and therefore, the salvation of the Christian world is in the rediscovery of ethnic nationalism and the ethnic community as a weapon against liberalism, capitalism and the global American imperialism. The accompanying article was a transcription of Johnson's lecture at the 2003 TBR conference. See the ad on page 79 to see how you can get his important lecture on audio and video tape.



Robert Monteith: Casement's Captain

By John Garton & Moira O'Sullivan

Few know of the exploits of the great Irish patriot Robert Monteith.

But, once one reads the following article, written by two scholars with full access to the Monteith family papers, one realizes very quickly that the Irish Revolution could not have happened without him. "The Mystery Man of Banna Strand" was an organizer of massive abilities. All Irish and lovers of freedom owe him a great debt.

Robert Monteith was born on March 1, 1879 at a farmhouse in Newtownmountkennedy, which lies on the road between Bray and Wicklow. His father, Joseph, had come from Cavan and married Mary Dillon of Wicklow. There were nine children, of whom Robert was the third son. He was christened in the Christ Episcopal Church in Delgany and educated at the school in Kilquade, where like all Irish children at that time he learned nothing of Irish history. But he did hear stories of the local hero of '98, O'Dwyer of the Glens, who had evaded capture by the crown forces for almost six years before being tricked into surrender and transported to Van Dieman's Land. The old rebel had written: "The way I avoided being captured was this: I never slept in a house; always either in a hiding place or in the open air, and by wrapping myself in such covering as I carried was able to do so even in the severest weather. While the snow lay on the ground I never moved." Good advice, as Monteith was to find when he was on the run with a thousand pounds on his head.

We may catch a glimpse of Robert's childhood from his daughter Florence's book, *The Mystery Man of Banna Strand*:

> **On Sundays the children walked the two miles to Kilquade twice, first to morning service and afternoon to vespers, no cutting across the fields in their navy blue Sunday suits. Mother always dressed them in navy blue because she said it was fashionable, not dowdy. Their shoes were examined for scuffs when they returned. They were tired little boys and girls who sat up straight in their chairs to listen to Father's reading of the Bible before and after supper. No one would dare fall asleep during the readings of the holy book; such was the strict upbringing of the Monteith household.**

ROBERT MONTEITH

At the age of 16, Bob followed in the footsteps of his elder brother, Dick, and enlisted in the Royal Horse Artillery. He lied about his age, and when he had completed his training he was shipped to India. He fell in love with the country and was soon speaking Hindi.

In 1894 he heard that men were needed in South Africa. The Boer War was not going well for England. He applied for leave and was given permission to join the South African constabulary as a bombardier. In Capetown he was reunited with his brother, Dick. At the relief of Ladysmith, bombardier Monteith, riding the lead horse of the six that pulled the gun carriage, was the second man through the blockade, following his commander, Sir Redvers Buller.

The Boer War over, Bob returned to India and was discharged from His Majesty's Forces on March 21, 1903, the most decorated ranker in the British army. So what turned this soldier of the queen from a supporter of the empire to a dedicated Irish nationalist?

He found civil service employment at the ordnance depot in Dundalk. The adjoining prison was considered the toughest and strongest built by the English in Ireland. Here there was an ever-ready firing squad, a fact not lost on the ex-soldier. The retired cavalryman became a keen cyclist and often rode to Dublin and across the Wicklow Mountains to visit his parents and his growing family of nephews and nieces whom he thrilled with stories of his military exploits. He also edited a little paper at the ordnance depot, called the *The Gun Park Lyre*.

On one trip to Dublin he went to the Gaiety Theater and saw for the first time a particularly beautiful showgirl. She was Mary Florence McEvoy, daughter of Charles Burke, a Fenian. While she was very young her father was murdered in Dublin and his body thrown from the North Wall into the Pool of Dublin. Mollie, as she was called, married David McEvoy, a Dublin journalist. They had three children, Josephine, Florence and David. Mollie's husband obtained a job in Montreal, but before his wife and family could join him, he was the victim of a robbery and was stabbed in the back, and his body tossed into Quebec Harbor. The incredible had happened: both father and husband met similar deaths.

Opposite page: The magnificent state funeral of Sir Roger Casement in Dublin in 1965. Casement, after being hanged to death by the British government on the grounds of the Pentonville Prison in London for supporting the cause of Irish freedom, was reburied in Ireland as a national hero. Supported by Robert Monteith and others, Casement sought to bring guns to the Irish independence forces, but the effort went agley. Everything in Casement's life was a source of controversy. He was a Protestant with a secret Roman Catholic baptism in his childhood, and an anti-imperialist British diplomat who had the harp of Erin engraved on his consular stationery. In 1911 he was knighted for his humanitarian work on behalf of Africans and South Americans enslaved to gather rubber for European plutocrats.

With three young mouths to feed, Mollie found work as assistant wardrobe mistress at the Gaiety and the children played juvenile roles with visiting companies. One night a featured showgirl was late and Mollie was pushed on in her place. It was the stuff of countless Hollywood musicals, and it was this showgirl to whom Monteith lost his heart.

Bob asked for an introduction; he wrote and wrote; he just had to meet her. She ignored his letters, being well used to stage-door Johnnies, but at last perseverance triumphed.

Mollie consented to see him, and a strong attraction grew up between them. She finally agreed to marry him. He was instructed in the Catholic faith by attending evening classes at Dundalk Cathedral. His family was appalled—a Catholic widow with three children! Only his sister Lily and his brother Dick sent congratulations to Dublin, where the couple was married.

When his five-year contract with the Ordnance Board ended, Monteith moved to rented accommodation in Dublin. He worked in an insurance office by day and did part-time work at the Gaiety, where Mollie, having given up her career as a showgirl, now worked in the box office. On May 17, 1910, their first daughter was born. They named her Ethel May Violet. In 1912, Monteith found employment at the Ordnance Depot at Island Bridge near Phoenix Park and here became involved in trade union work. On the old hand press he had brought with him from Dundalk he printed handbills for the Government Workers' Union. He was instrumental in winning a retroactive pay raise for the men at the magazine powder works, the Phoenix Park attendants and the zookeepers.

The dock strike of 1912 was barely over when the tramway workers struck and Dublin was at a standstill. Strike-breakers with Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) protection were stoned by angry strikers. When Jim Larkin tried to address a crowd in the center of Dublin all hell broke loose:

> **The police charged in on all sides on the crowd in the center of the street where they clubbed and smashed indiscriminately. At the moment of the charge, a congregation coming from church in Abbey Street was pouring into O'Connell Street, and in their blind fury the police made the grand mistake of clubbing people who were most critical of Jim Larkin and all his works. Many loyal eyes were then opened to the fact that in Ireland there were two classes: the governing class and the mere Irish, and that they were included in the latter.**

One evening on Eden Quay, Monteith saw a middle-aged man severely beaten by a drunken constable, one of a group of about 35. Two other metropolitan police set upon the man with truncheons. Monteith called out, "Damned cowards!" He was attacked and knocked down, where he had the good sense to lie still until the upholders of English law had moved off. But what finally made a rebel of the Protestant ex-British soldier was when the 14-year-old Florence, returning from shopping, was clubbed by a policeman in Earl Street and taken home with her long golden hair clotted with blood.

Monteith determined to join Connolly's Citizen Army, but Tom Clarke advised him to wait, saying he had a better job for him. That was a command coming as it did from the most respected of the old Fenians. He had been introduced to Clarke by Ernest Kavanagh, the artist, a fine man who was to die in Liberty Hall in 1916. Of Clarke, Monteith wrote "He was a man we could ill afford to lose—one of those great souls who sacrifice everything that the world may be made a better abiding place for all. He died in the sure and certain hope of the resurrection of his country."

Through Clarke, Monteith met Liam Mellowes, from whom he learned of a proposed public meeting to organize a force of Irish volunteers. This was to take place at the Rotunda Rink. The Volunteers were publicly stated to be a defensive measure against Carson's Ulster Volunteers, but in practice it was hoped they would become an Irish army, striking for Ireland's freedom.

Monteith agreed to place his military expertise at the disposal of the provisional committee.

On November 26, 1913, the Rotunda was packed, and there were as many more outside in the grounds, who could not get in. Overflow meetings were addressed by Sean MacDermott, M.J. Judge and others.

The manifesto was read by Lawrence J. Kettle; Eoin MacNeil having declared that the business was not to deliberate but to take action. Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) members distributed enrollment forms, and over 3,000 signed up before the stewards ran out of forms.

In 1953 Monteith wrote "There is much for the student of history to consider as he surveys the outcome of that meeting in the Rotunda. There are still many of us who by virtue of their attendance and subsequent activities took an empire by the throat and shook out its very teeth."

Monteith spent every evening drilling the men of A Company, 1st Battalion of the Dublin Brigade, and on weekends he was out with them on maneuvers.

Monteith wasted no time. He drilled the Volunteers in the Gaelic League Hall in Blackball Strand on December 1, less than a week after the inaugural meeting. These now almost forgotten Irishmen paraded the first squad of the Volunteers. Their ages ranged from 14 to 60. They were bank clerks, dock laborers, shop assistants, students—a cross-section of Dubliners—and as he looked at them Monteith remembered a line of Thomas Davis: "We heed not race, nor creed nor color."

He remembered that night all his life and years later found it ironic that McGarry, a member of the first squad he drilled, listened to Redmond, became a lieutenant in the British army and died leading Irishmen up a bullet-swept beach at Gallipoli, one of the many military blunders of World War I.

Capt. Monteith spent every evening drilling the men of A Company, 1st Battalion of the Dublin Brigade, and at weekends he was out with them on maneuvers, usually accompanied by the piper Francis McCabe and frequently joined by the Fianna boys of Countess Markievicz.

On Sunday, July 26, Monteith was sent to address a large meeting at Rathfarnham. He was accompanied by his unit of Volunteers. Large numbers of police followed him and mingled with his audience.

Informers were at work. A detachment of the King's Own

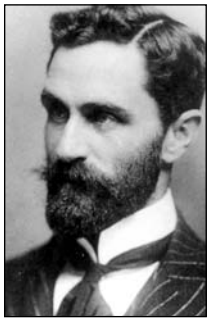
Casement, Monteith & the *U.19* Incident

In January 1916, James Connolly was encouraged to join the revolutionary Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) and was voted onto the Military Council, thus ensuring that the Irish Citizens Army shall be involved in the rising. The rising date was confirmed for Easter Sunday, April 20. On April 9, 1916, the *Aud* set sail from Lubeck, Germany with a cargo of 20,000 rifles bound for Tralee Bay on the southwest coast of Ireland. On April 12, Sir Roger Casement boarded submarine *U.19* at Wilmshaven, Germany, bound for a rendezvous with the *Aud* at Tralee. With him were Robert Monteith (an IRB man) and a Sgt. "Beverley" (a former POW, who had joined Casement's Irish Brigade but who was secretly a British agent named Daniel Bailey). Casement was tired and ill after many months in Germany seeking military assistance for the rising. On April 20 at 4:15 p.m., the *Aud* arrived at Tralee Bay. As the local Volunteers expected the ship to arrive on Easter Saturday, the arms were not landed. The *Aud's* Capt. Karl Spindler waited in vain for a signal from shore. On April 21 at 2:15 a.m. Casement and his two companions went ashore from *U.19* and landed on Banna Strand. Bailey and Monteith went to seek the local Volunteers. Hours later Casement was discovered and arrested by the Royal Irish Constabulary. The *Aud* was captured by the British navy but was successfully scuttled by her captain and crew to prevent the valuable cargo from falling into enemy hands. Shown at left is the *U.19;* Monteith is at the top of the conning tower, at the extreme right. To the left of him is "Beverley"/Bailey. To the left of Bailey is Casement.

Scottish Borderers had been rushed to Howth to interrupt the landing of the arms. They were too late. Despondently the Scots marched back to Dublin and moved up Bachelor's Walk from O'Connell Bridge. A small crowd on the pavement jeered. Their officer, unable to bear the taunts of, "Go home and wash your knees," shouted, "Open fire." When the crowd scattered, 32 unarmed civilians were wounded; one woman and two men lay dying. Prime Minister Asquith, at the rigged inquiry, stated that he was sure the military would be found blameless. At the funeral of the victims, the Volunteers, in military formation, fired a salute over their graves. Irish republicans had a new slogan: "Remember Bachelor's Walk."

Some of the Howth guns had been hidden in brush and brambles when British troops blocked the road to Dublin. Monteith was driven home that evening by a friend:

> **Dropping an armful of unloaded Mausers on the floor, he said, "Hide these quickly, Mollie," and before she could answer he was out of the door again for another load. He made many trips that night, bringing more and more guns. The men in the car outside were so quiet that the neighbors did not suspect that history was being made in Palmerston Place that night. She hid the rifles along the cabbage rows, some in the coal bin in the yard, some back of the long shutters, more in the children's beds. When she had finally put them all out of sight, the car came back again, and Bob and the men gathered them all up and drove away. It was almost dawn when he returned to rest, but there was no sleep for the bewildered housewife that night.**



The Ghost of Roger Casement

I say that Roger Casement
Did what he had to do.
He died upon the gallows,
But that is nothing new . . .
!What has made that sudden noise?
What on the threshold stands?
It never crossed the sea because
John Bull and the sea are friends;
But this is not the old sea
Nor this the old seashore.
What gave that roar of mockery,
That roar in the sea's roar?
The ghost of Roger Casement
Is beating on the door.

When war came, Monteith was offered a commission in a mounted regiment. He turned it down. Next, he was offered work, as an officer, training the "Pals' Battalion" at Trinity College.

Mollie would have her own car and chauffeur; there would be servants for the children. Monteith rejected the offer.

Unable to cajole or bribe him, they saw to it that he was sacked from the ordnance depot and expelled from Dublin. The order was signed by Brigadier Greenfield of the 3rd Irish Command. On November 12, Monteith was forbidden to live in Dublin or near any defended harbor. He was given 36 hours to move. After a hurried meeting with Tom Clarke, a man named O'Rahilly drove Monteith to Athy in County Kildare. He moved on to Limerick and lodged with Miss Josie Kilmartin, niece of Edward Daly, former mayor of Limerick. Molly sent his Volunteer uniform after him.

Now he trained Volunteer units in and around Limerick and instructed the nationalist forces in Morse code. But there was more important work for him. Clarke and the IRB in New York were planning to send a man to Germany to assist Roger Casement with the Irish Brigade. Monteith was chosen. He applied to the British for permission to emigrate. It was granted, and Monteith left Dublin on Tuesday, August 24, 1915, for Liverpool, where, a few days later, he sailed for New York. Mollie and the rest of the family followed a fortnight later but without her eldest child. Josephine, aged 19, married William Begley. It would be 12 years before Mollie saw her firstborn again.

Robert Monteith settled his family on 137th Street in the Bronx, celebrated little Pat's second birthday and with a studio photograph of his family in his wallet he sailed, as a stowaway, on the *SS United States*. Adier Christensen, who a year earlier had accompanied Roger Casement to Berlin, traveled on the same ship second class and secretly fed Monteith.

Adier Christensen, who a year earlier had accompanied Roger Casement to Berlin, traveled on the same ship second class and secretly fed Monteith.

The Diary of Captain Monteith was published by Florence Monteith Lynch in 1959 and tells the whole story. When the boat docked at Christiana, Monteith, who had no passport, managed to land by feigning drunkenness to the customs officials; he tripped at the top of the gangplank and rolled to the bottom. He had reached Europe, and on October 22 he was in Berlin. He learned that Casement was in Munich and that he was ill.

After visiting the German Foreign Office, Monteith went on to Munich, where he found the man he was to call his "chief" recovering from an illness. Together they made their way to Zossen, where men recruited for the Irish Brigade were stationed. Casement explained that Monteith had been sent to command them, for according to the agreement with Germany the brigade should have only Irish officers. Monteith inspected the brigade, which at that time consisted of 50 men, one sergeant major, one quartermaster sergeant, four sergeants, four corporals, four lance corporals and 36 privates. The uniform was gray-green in color with emerald green facings ornamented with the harp and shamrock. It had been designed by Casement. Bob Monteith's uniform is on display in the 1916 collection of the Irish National Museum. Monteith traveled to Limburg prison camp, where most Irish prisoners were confined, but his recruiting campaign met with little success. Extracts from his diary are revealing:

November 7, 1915:

Nearly all of the POWs are satisfied with their present state, which is peculiar. All of them are loud in their statement that when the war is over they will be prepared to fight for Ireland. Their idea of fighting for Ireland seems to be to fight the people of the North. John Redmond seems to be a sort of God; a constant cry is "Now we have home rule, we are equal with England, and it is our duty to fight alongside the English." God help us.

November 8, 1915:

I had a small flag sent to me by the Irish wife of the German interpreter, the Republican colors, green, white and orange. One man who saw this lying on the table said "That's enough; I won't join you when I see that flag." I asked "why?" to which he replied, "Because that's the flag of United Ireland." Again, God help us.

November 10, 1915:

I have found out the reason for the men being satisfied with their condition. Each Irishman in Limburg receives on an average 10 parcels per month, or one in three days. These parcels contain food, clothing, tobacco etc, and also some regiments had a supply of money from regimental funds. Now the average parcels received by English prisoners of war from all sources is from three to five parcels per man monthly. Most of the parcels coming to Irishmen are sent from England. However, it is good they get something for nothing from England. But is it for nothing?

What emerges from the above and the rest of the diary makes it clear that:

1. Irish POWs were constantly indoctrinated by their officers and senior non-commissioned officers. For instance, when a copy of the London's *Daily Mail* gave an account of the outrage on the Irish emigrants at Liverpool, the men were assured by their officers that that the *Daily Mail* was printed in Berlin to delude them.

2. While not wishing to deny that some men having taken an oath of allegiance to the crown were averse to breaking that oath, it must be said that conditions in Limburg were better than in the trenches, and recruitment into the Irish Brigade offered no soft option.

3. The dangled temptation of home rule and the myth of Catholic atrocities on Protestants were spread like a disease among the Irish troops.

While the Irish soldier was expected to keep his promise to the crown, the crown could continue to break its promises to Ireland as Alice Stopford Green so clearly shows in her influential book *Irish Nationality.*

So the recruiting was not a great success. Most of those who did volunteer were gallant men who knew what they were getting into, but even among the 55 of them there were informers. Aodoghan O'Reilly tells us of the American McGeog. Then there was Quinlisk, who continued to sell out his country until Michael Collins had him dealt with in 1921. And there was Daniel Bailey, who had joined the brigade under the name of "Beverley."

On April 6, Casement showed Monteith a letter. They learned that the rising was fixed for Easter Sunday and that a consignment of German arms would be expected off the Kerry coast not later than Easter Monday. All was in preparation. The story of the arms ship the *Aud* has been told by its brave captain, Karl Spindler, from the time it left Germany until it was scuttled off Queenstown.

Casement, Monteith and Sgt. "Beverley" were to travel on the *U.19* and rendezvous with the ship in Tralee Bay. Monteith was not optimistic. "I believe Sir Roger Casement, Sgt. Beverley and myself are going straight to our death without even hope of being able to raise a hand to defend ourselves. Without me and perhaps without Beverley, the world will move along in the same way, but in Sir Roger Casement, the world loses one of her best and greatest men." (April 10.)

On April 20 the *U.19* rose to the surface off Banna Strand. There was no pilot boat to meet them and no sign of watchers on the shore. The arrangements had gone disastrously wrong.

The three Irishmen boarded a collapsible dinghy and made for the shore. The *U.19* submerged and headed off into the Atlantic. When the dinghy finally beached after a horrific trip it was apparent that Casement was too ill to walk any distance so he was hidden in a spot called McKenna's Fort while Monteith and Beverley went in search of help.

Monteith wrote:

> **I said to Casement, "Well, Sir Roger, we have had a little adventure and got through it all right." He patted me on the shoulder and answered, "Yes, Capt. Monteith, . . . and we are much nearer to the ending of the chapter." Had I known that end, I would surely have let him sleep into eternity in the foaming water on Banna Strand, the water that had tried to be kind to one of Ireland's heroes. Such was the coming of Casement, an incident on the road to his Calvary.**
>
> **Think of it, you who killed his body and made his name immortal. Think of it, you who rushed into print ere his broken body was cold, in your puny effort to prove him unworthy of the trust of Kathleen ni Houlihan. Casement served not only Ireland, but also humanity. Casement was cast ashore on his native land . . . outlawed, a price upon his head.**

And there was to be a price on Bob Monteith's head: 1,000 pounds. No mean sum in 1916.

The story of Banna Strand has been told many times, occasionally truthfully. Not so the story of Monteith's great escape from Tralee to Castleisland, from thence to Limerick and on to Cork; from Cork to Liverpool and then back to New York. These writers followed in his footsteps along the Irish part of his journey and spoke to many whose fathers and mothers had helped and housed him in his perilous journey, with the RIC and the British army in relentless pursuit.

On November 11, 1919, British *Field Marshal Viscount French (1852-1925) staged a victory parade in Dublin, featuring these tanks. However, more than a celebration of peace, it was intended to show Irish nationalists that their puny efforts could not prevail against the mighty British military. Nevertheless, the British were to lose the Irish War for Independence. John Denton Pinkstone French, to give him his real name, was in command of the British Expeditionary Force in France and Belgium, from the outbreak of WWI to December 1915, but his command was marked by failure to coordinate the movements of his forces and heavy casualties in the first and second battles of Ypres and the Battle of Loos. On his return to England, he reorganized the home defenses. He was lord lieutenant of Ireland 1918-21.*

Eventually, after many narrow escapes, Monteith reached New York. Let Florence Monteith Lynch tell the story:

> **Just a week before Christmas, Bob climbed the stairs of one old house in Third Avenue. Two small girls were playing there, and he asked the oldest child if Mrs. Monteith lived there. She said yes. He said, "Do you know which floor she lives on?" The child nodded. "Will you show me the way?"**
>
> **Even though their mother had warned them not to speak to strange men, they led the way up the stairs. On the second floor he paused, and Vie turned round to him saying, "She's our mammy." He had not recognized his own babies.**

Holding on to the banisters he pulled himself up to the third floor. Throwing open the door. Vie called out "Mammy, there's a man here." Mollie rushed in just in time to catch him from falling; he was in a bad shape. After she got him to bed, she left the children to watch him and hastened downstairs to a phone booth and called John Devoy. He said, "I'll have a doctor there shortly, and don't talk to anyone else until I get there myself."

Mollie found a new home for her sick husband and her children in a little house on 120th Street. It became a meeting place for the Irish in America. Bob, wary of informers, was cautious; he said nothing about his exploits that could put people back home in danger. Monteith was 38 when the family moved to 157 East 119th Street and he took an auto mechanics course at the local YMCA, earning a little money washing down taxis. The course successfully completed, Monteith found a job, but he was soon fired. Again and again he found new employers and again and again he was sacked—no reason given. Then one friendly employer, George Loring, told him the reason. British agents, some of them Irish Unionists, spread lies about him.

They said Monteith was an English spy, a murderer, totally untrustworthy; and at the same time they threatened anyone who dared employ him that his business would be ruined. In the case of Loring, he found it impossible to obtain spare auto parts. The unemployed Monteith was taken into custody and interrogated by the U.S. Department of Justice. Col. Burke of that department soon satisfied himself that the man he was interrogating was no danger to America, but the lie was spread that he had been arrested as an undesirable—the story was even repeated in an obituary after his death.

When de Valera went to New York to promote the Irish bond issue, he again met Monteith, who had drilled him in 1916. He was surprised when Monteith asked for a job so that he could feed his children, and Bob Monteith became the official canvasser for the sale of the bonds in Staten Island, where he raised $48,000. In Albany he raised a further $45,000. He moved to Ohio in 1921, where he helped to organize "The American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic." Within three months there were 30,000 members. Bob was honored by a Colorado Indian tribe, who made him a member of their community and christened him "Wolverine."

He lectured in Irish clubs and convent schools. His subject was Roger Casement, the savior of the Congo natives and the Putumayo Indians and, in Monteith's words, "the greatest leader of the rising."

During the St. Patrick's Day Parade of 1921, Florence Monteith was arrested and charged with soliciting funds without authority. A man wearing the badge of the Ancient Order of Hibernians was the false accuser. Monteith was furious in spite of his daughter's prompt release. He knew that they were getting at him through a beloved member of his family. Perhaps the former Bernadette Devlin feels a similar anger? In 1922 Florence married David G. Lynch of Brooklyn but her brother David had to give the bride away—Bob was addressing a meeting in Atlantic City.

But the traveling had to stop. Bob's health was failing, so he found employment at the Maxwell Motor Company in Detroit and moved on to work for Ford Motor Company. With the company closed during the depression he worked on a road gang while Mollie was employed at a dyeing and cleaning plant, from whence she moved to a post with the Detroit Board of Education as a teacher of hygiene. After the strike, Bob became foreman of the rust proofing department of Ford, while in his spare time he instructed an Irish Rifle Association.

When Spindler of the *Aud* went to America he met Monteith, who, for the first time, heard the true story of the German arms ship. The ex-German captain and Monteith spent many happy hours together.

Monteith helped to organize a union at Ford, fighting for "Social Justice for the Worker," and inevitably this brought him to the attention of the FBI. When George V and his wife visited Ontario he was put under 24-hour-a-day surveillance. When Monteith retired in 1943, he and Mollie moved to a small house with 60 acres of timberland. He named the property "*Gurth na fe*," the "Field of the Fairies." They loved the place, but the call of Ireland was strong, and in 1947 they sailed for home. It was 31 years since the escape from Banna Strand, but the English have

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long memories. When the *Shooting Star* docked in the Port of London, three men came up the gangplank inquiring for Monteith. They were a Scotland Yard detective, a journalist and a taxi driver. When Monteith asked what the taxi was for he was told that it was to take him straight to Euston whence he would be escorted to the train for the Irish boat. The Monteiths were not to be permitted to sleep one night in England.

The skipper of the *Shooting Star* looked at his 68-year-old passenger and said, "Captain Monteith, you're an old man, but, by God, the English are still afraid of you."

The exhausted couple crossed to Dun Laoghaire and were met and taken to breakfast in Dublin by some old friends. Then came a request from de Valera asking the Monteiths to call at Leinster House. When Dev saw how exhausted Monteith was, he cut the meeting short.

Why had Bob gone back to Ireland, apart from the natural love he and Mollie had for the land of their birth? Florence Monteith Lynch states that Bob knew he was destined for the scrap heap, but he had to come back to find out for himself just what had been done for Casement's memory. The answer was little or nothing. It would be another 18 years before the English allowed his remains to be returned to the land for which he died.

Jimmie Miller, the camp barber from Frongoch, was a frequent visitor to the Monteiths' new home in Kilcoole. He fought the military pension officials about Bob's pension, 17 pounds a quarter with one pound deducted for tax. So much for a life devoted to fighting for Ireland.

And he was ill—malaria and the effects of his trials during his great escape were taking their toll. The house at Kilcoole was damp. But there were people who appreciated Monteith's life and work, and in 1949 Margaret Pearse, Padraig's sister, Mrs. Tom Clarke, Maud Gonne McBride and others, aided by Father Senan, OFM, found a more suitable home in Sutton near the Hill of Howth, and on St. Patrick's Day, Monteith was given the keys. The house was renamed "Banna Strand."

Bob and Mollie traveled to Kerry in April 1950, where he was able to point out the spot where he and Casement landed. He also identified the little dinghy that had carried them from the *U.19*.

Bob, now in his 70s, was not idle, although he had spent much time in hospital and had to be helped in and out of the garden. He could type. He wrote letters to the newspapers and contributed articles to the weekly Capuchin newspaper *Father Matthew's Record*. A poem "At the Sign of the Crossed Keys" appeared in the 1952 *Capuchin Annual*. He also began a revised edition of his *Casement's Last Adventure*, which had appeared in a limited edition in 1932 in Chicago. Now he could name most of those who had helped him—they were safe from the clutches of perfidious Albion. The new edition appeared in 1953. In that year also, Monteith was asked to make a platform speech at the dedication of the Roger Casement Stadium in Belfast. Mollie went for him. He was in bed recovering from a serious operation. Cathal O'Byrne drove Mollie to Belfast.

It was the first time she had seen the Mourne Mountains, and she spoke of their beauty until her death. Bishop D'Alton, primate of all Ireland, dedicated the Roger Casement Stadium, and Mollie read the speech her husband had written:

> **The Gaelic Athletic Association has done a great thing, a noble thing, in bringing into being this great stadium in Belfast and in naming it the Roger Casement Stadium. But it must be realized that if the people of Ireland were to raise a thousand monuments to Roger Casement, or to make 10,000 speeches to his honor, they could neither do nor say anything that would add to, or take from, the glory that is his. For Casement's honor is neither insular nor parochial. It is worldwide. So long as the village fires of the Congo burn, so long will there be men who will tell the story of Casement, the man they remember as "the Protector." As long as the mighty Amazon surges to the sea, there too will be men to tell the story of the knightly one who came from beyond the sea to free them from the money-hungry captains of industry who enslaved and tortured them. Here is a place named in honor of the heroic Irishman who gladly gave his lifeblood that Ireland is a better place in which to live.**

Monteith helped to organize a union at Ford, fighting for "Social Justice for the Worker" and inevitably this brought him to the attention of the FBI.

The Monteiths went back to America, to their children, their grandchildren and their great-grandchildren. In 1955, the family were warned that their father had only six months to live.

Robert Monteith died on February 18, 1956, after a fall. He was 77. Florence said that like an old soldier he just faded away. The newspapers printed truths and lies. One wrote of his imprisonment in the United States, but Bob had never been in prison. The British had tried hard enough to put him there. They had not succeeded.

He was buried on February 22. The little tricolor flag stained by the waters of Tralee Bay was in his breast pocket. Bob died a Christian not belonging to any church in particular. He is buried in a Catholic cemetery because Mollie wished to lie beside him. He had said "If I go first, Mollie, I will wait along the way for you, and we will go hand in hand into the Great Beyond."

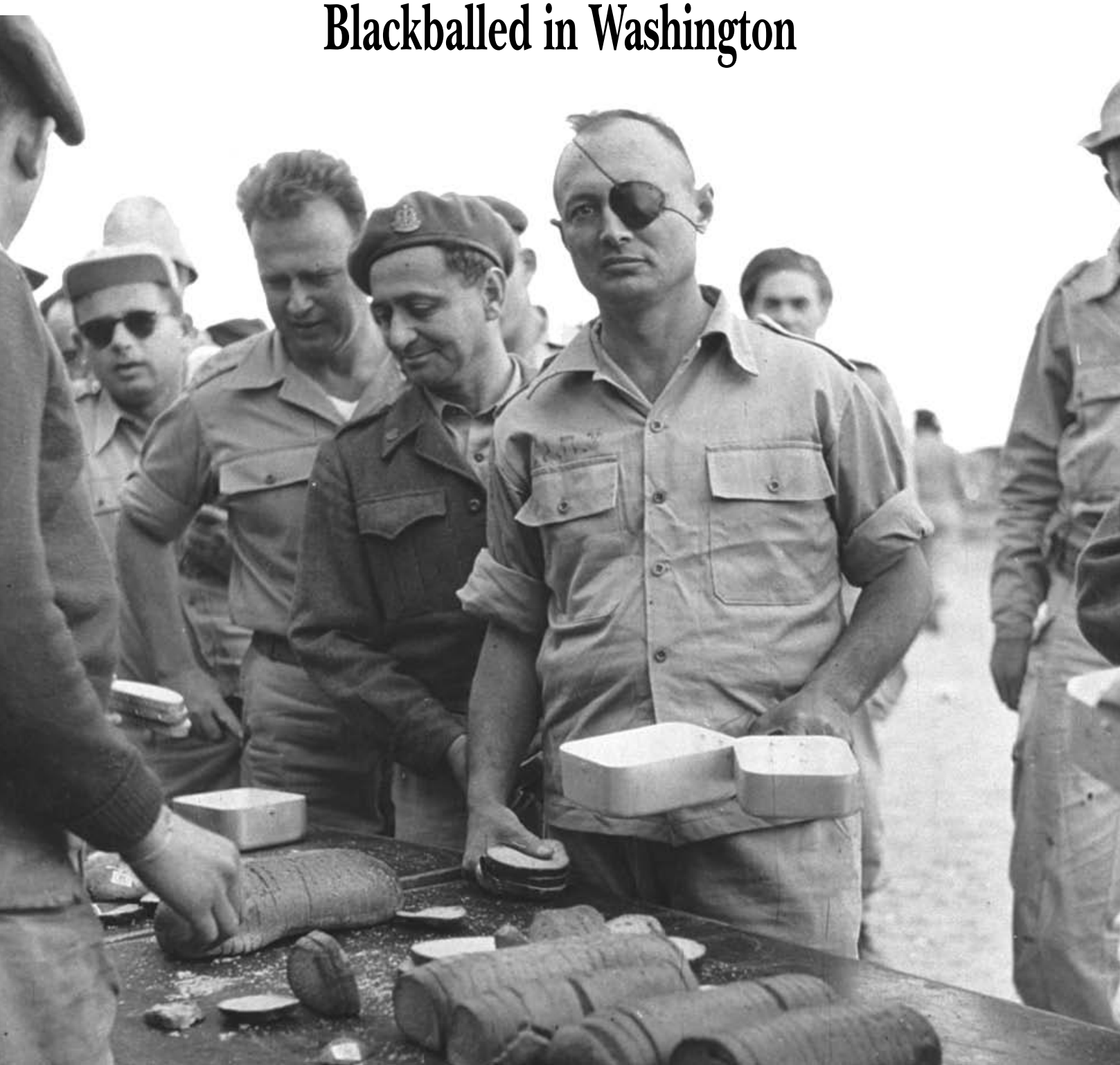
This brief biography of a fine Irishman concludes with one of Monteith's poems–a poem Mollie loved and often read aloud:

> **Let poets sing of shining stars, / Of flowers and scented lawn, / Of a sunlit sea and a gallant ship, / Of the hills and a golden dawn. / But we shall sing of those who died, /By the rope and noose tight drawn, / Or back to the wall by a firing squad, / In the dim of a hopeless dawn. /Aye faith, but a man has not known life, / Who lived an Empire's pawn, / Let us sing of the Rebels unafraid, / In the flame of Freedom's dawn.** ❖

John Garton and Moira O'Sullivan are freelance writers and past contributors to The Barnes Review offering Revisionist articles dealing with the history of Ireland. They presently live in London.

Beyond the Interim Agreement:

The Speech that Got Sen. Fulbright Blackballed in Washington



The following is the full text of the keynote address given on October 4, 1975, at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C., by the former Senator J.W. Fulbright, powerful chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The occasion was the 29th Annual Conference of the Middle East Institute held in conjunction with the School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University concerning the peace basically concluded between Egypt and Israel after the Arabs' defeats in the wars of the late 1960s and early 1970s. It was prior comments such as these that led the brave senator to lose his seat in the 1974 election. The Israeli lobby bragged about having "brought down" Fulbright.

The significance of the Egyptian-Israeli interim agreement of 1975 is less in its specifications than its implications, and these, as matters stand, are by no means clear. If the disengagement generates momentum toward further, more substantial agreements and toward a general settlement, Dr. Kissinger's diplomacy will be vindicated as successful and farsighted. If, on the other hand, the agreement becomes an excuse for Israeli intransigence, extremism on the part of one or more of the Arab parties, and a holiday from statesmanship during the forthcoming American political season, the Sinai accord will stand —depending upon events—as something between a futile exercise and an outright disaster.

One point I cannot emphasize too strongly is that this interim agreement should not, in any respect, be approved until its full implications have been thoroughly examined by the relevant committees of Congress. It is just 11 years since the Congress, under a misapprehension of its significance, approved the Tonkin Gulf Resolution under heavy pressure from the president and without thorough consideration, and the results were disastrous.

Given the extraordinary difficulties that had to be overcome to reach the Egyptian-Israeli agreement, the temptation to over-celebrate is natural. If arduous effort were the sole criterion of diplomatic success, President Ford would perhaps be justified in hailing the Sinai agreement as "a great achievement, one of the most historic certainly of this decade and perhaps of this century." If, on the other hand, we take the scope and sweep of an achievement as the measure of its significance, I do not think the Sinai accord is to be compared with, say, the Treaty of Versailles, the World War II peace treaties, or even more recent agreements with the Soviet Union on SALT or on the status of Berlin. Perhaps, where Arabs and Israelis are concerned, the truly remarkable fact is that, after decades of intransigence, they finally agreed on something, however limited. As Dr. Johnson said of the dog walking on his hind legs, "It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all."

An objective evaluation of the agreement requires a close, dispassionate examination of its specifications—explicit and implicit, public and secret—and also of its costs. Equally if not more important is an appreciation of the interests and objectives of all those involved. Before commenting further on the interim agreement itself, therefore, and on what may be beyond it, I would like to suggest what I believe to be the central, crucial interests of the United States in the Middle East—interests which must serve as guideposts to a rational, responsible policy.

United States Interests

The catalogue of our interests is well known and hardly contested: the survival of Israel; access to oil and the friendship of the Arabs; the avoidance of confrontation with the Soviet Union; and the strengthening of the UN as an international peacekeeping agency. What we evidently do not agree upon among

Moshe Dayan, at left, wearing eye patch, the Israeli commander *who, as defense minister in 1967, gave the order to conquer the Golan, said many of the firefights with the Syrians were deliberately provoked by Israel, and the kibbutz residents who pressed the Israeli government to take the Golan Heights did so less for security than for the farmland. Dayan stated: "We would send a tractor to plow some area where it wasn't possible to do anything, in the demilitarized area, and knew in advance that the Syrians would start to shoot. If they didn't shoot, we would tell the tractor to advance farther, until in the end the Syrians would get annoyed and shoot. And then we would use artillery and later the air force also. . . . [Israel] must see the sword as the main, if not the only, instrument with which to keep its morale high and to retain its moral tension. Toward this end it may—no it must—invent dangers, and to do this it must adopt the method of provocation-and-revenge. . . . And above all—let us hope for a new war with the Arab countries, so that we may finally get rid of our troubles and acquire our space."*

ourselves is the priority of these interests and the appropriate means of reconciling them where they conflict. To the Israeli lobby (if I may use the newspaper term)—with its extraordinary influence on our politics—the requirements of Israeli security, as judged by the Israelis themselves, are the commanding objective of American policy. In my view—which is a minority view in Congress and the press but which I have a hunch is more widely shared among the people at large—the commanding American interest in the Middle East is access to oil. Our interest in Israel is emotional and ideological: it is in our interests for Israel to survive because we wish Israel to survive. Our interest in Arab oil is a matter of vital economic necessity, tangible and urgent—more urgent indeed than is now recognized by any but a few energy experts.

There is little reason to hope—and much reason to doubt—that the trumpeted "Project Independence" in energy is going to succeed within the next five or 10 years. One reason for this is political: as of now Congress simply does not have the will or capacity to adopt a rational program of energy conservation and of incentives for new production. Beset by political pressures, the majority in Congress seems committed to a national policy—if it can be called that—allowing rising consumption of a diminishing resource of artificially suppressed prices. Since even the U.S. Congress cannot legislate into being resources that do not exist, the inevitable result has been rapidly rising imports. Between 1967 and 1974, while our overall oil consumption rose from something over 12.5 million barrels a day to more than 16.5 million barrels a day, the proportion of our overall oil requirements imported rose from just over 20 percent to almost 37 percent, while the proportion of overall imports coming from the Middle East and North Africa more than doubled—rising from 10.2 percent to 20.6 percent.

SEN. J.W. FULBRIGHT

Of and by itself there is nothing wrong with moderately increased dependence on Arab oil. But Congress, while allowing the dependency to grow, at the same time gives all-out military and political support to the Arab oil producers' most feared enemy, Israel. Doubly reckless, Congress both refuses domestic conservation and jeopardizes foreign sources, and with this there is a great deal wrong. One does not have to be a master political strategist—one only needs an iota of common sense—to recognize that it is not prudent to allow yourself to become economically dependent on a foreign supplier while at the same time you pursue political policies guaranteed to antagonize that supplier. We may denounce the threat of embargo as blackmail, and perhaps that is the right name for it, but it is more to the point to note that if the Arabs did not use their economic power in their national interest, they would be the only nations in the world—most assuredly including the United States—and perhaps the first nations in history—who declined to do so. In short, to give priority to Israeli interests would logically require draconian measures of conservation, such as high prices and rationing, while to give priority to domestic energy requirements would require an Israeli pullback to the '67 borders and a comprehensive settlement in accord with Resolution 242. It is a hard dilemma, but it is inescapable.

Besides the political reasons, there are weighty economic and technological reasons why "Project Independence" is unlikely to succeed within the next ten years. The so-called exotic new sources of energy—nuclear fusion, solar and geothermal energy—cannot be expected to contribute in any important degree to our energy supply within the next decade. The more practical short-term alternative to petroleum—coal and nuclear energy—will certainly be used in far greater quantities, but it now seems unlikely that they can come anywhere near filling our fast-rising domestic energy deficit over the next 10 years. The opening of the Alaska pipeline, expected in 1977, will give a welcome boost to our domestic oil supply, and the decontrol of domestic oil prices—if it occurs—may provide incentive for new domestic exploration and production. But these too will be insufficient to fill the gap, all the more for the fact that any short-term gains in domestic oil production will be counteracted by the steady, rapid decline in our domestic natural gas production.

Not only is energy self-sufficiency a virtual impossibility over the next decade or more, our dependency on imported oil is almost certain to increase, unless we are prepared to pay the price of deep, long-term recession in our national economy. There is a historically established link between economic growth and rising energy consumption. Perhaps some day the two can be decoupled, but that does not seem imminent. Undoubtedly, too, a depressed economy would have beneficial energy-saving and environmental effects. The price, however, high unemployment, under-financed education, deteriorating cities and rising crime—is clearly unacceptable, both socially and politically.

The alternative—the only alternative—is rising oil imports, which bring us to the question of where the imports are to come from. Throughout the 1950s and '60s at least two-thirds of our oil imports came from western hemisphere sources, primarily Canada and Venezuela. But Venezuelan production has peaked and is now declining, and Canada has adopted an official policy of phasing out oil and gas exports to the United States—a policy, I might note parenthetically, which has elicited no calls for the invasion of Canada. By 1974 only 60 percent of our oil imports were coming from the Western Hemisphere. At the same time—as already noted—the proportion of our imports coming from the Middle East and North Africa doubled between 1967 and 1974, rising from 10 to over 20 percent of total imports. We may expect in the next few years to buy more oil from Nigeria and Indonesia and a few other countries, but most of our rising import requirement is going to have to come from the Middle East. The reason, quite simply, is that that is where the large reserves are; that is where production can be increased to meet our needs. And there is no other place in the world, so far as anyone knows, with comparable reserves—except possibly Soviet Siberia. A forthcoming Library of Congress study projects that within the next decade we will be getting about half of our total oil and natural gas imports from the Middle East.

Saudi Arabia possesses no less than 25 percent of the world's oil reserves, and another 22 percent lies beneath the territory of the neighboring countries of the Arabian Peninsula. These countries—especially Saudi Arabia—have governments that greatly desire to cooperate with the United States for reasons of their own national

interests. The Saudis have made it abundantly clear that they wish to trade their oil, in effect, for our technology, and further that they wish to invest much of their surplus capital in our economy, while relying primarily upon their association with the United States for their national security. The Saudis do not propose—nor should we seek—an exclusive association to the detriment of others. But they offer us an arrangement of special cooperation and mutual advantage which I have no doubt the French or Japanese, for example, would seize upon as a gift from heaven.

We shall have to ask the Saudis to take the lead in resisting large new price increases—as they are now doing—and in increasing oil production beyond the level of their own greatest advantage. As of now there is reason to hope that they will do both, but their future responsiveness to our needs will of course depend upon our overall good relations.

To this end it would seem prudent, to say the least, to reconsider our current attitude of ambivalence and suspicion toward the Arab oil-producing countries. Instead of treating their prospective investments as a threat, we ought to welcome them as a boon to our economy. Even indeed if we do mistrust them, we should know from our own foreign investment experience that sizable assets in a foreign country serve more nearly as a hostage than as a threat to that country. Similarly, I think it both unfair to the Saudis and detrimental to our own national interest when the press and congressional committees reap a harvest of self-serving publicity from the fact that certain companies have sought to advance their business by the payment of what in some cases may have been commissions, and in others more accurately bribes, to certain Saudi nationals. It is rumored that the practices in question are not unknown here in our own country. One wonders, therefore, whether the righteous indignation now being directed toward reforming the business ethics of foreigners could not more usefully be applied at home.

The deep suspicion directed toward Arabs in general—and toward the Saudis in particular—is not, I think, really rooted in questions of business ethics, or fear of the takeover of important segments of our economy. Nor, I suspect, is it rooted in genuine fear that a close association with Saudi Arabia and the other Arab oil producing countries will be bad for the United States. It is rather rooted, I suspect, in a deep-seated, perhaps not even wholly conscious, fear that the association will be good for the United States—so very good indeed as to erode and undercut our all-out, emotional commitment to Israel.

It is at this precise point that our interests in Israel and in the Arab world intersect. Far from being separate and distinct, as we are often asked to believe, the interests involved are inseparable, so much so, in my opinion, that neither can be realized in any satisfactory, enduring way except with reference to the other. To state the matter in concrete terms: our emotional and ideological interest in Israel must be reconciled—not sacrificed but reconciled with our inevitably growing economic dependency on the Arab oil-producing countries.

This necessity, if we are rational, need not strike gloom and fear into our hearts. The Arab states, for reasons of their own security and economic development—with perhaps one or two minor exceptions—are willing and even eager to cooperate with the United States. Nor is there any direct conflict of interests between the Arab countries in general and the United States. The only issue that sets us against each other is our continuing support, through military assistance, of Israeli occupation of Arab lands taken in 1967. The Arab leaders who play decisive roles in this issue: Presidents Sadat and Assad, King Khalid and Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia, King Hussein, and I believe too Mr. Arafat are rational and moderate men who are prepared to accept Israel within its 1967 boundaries with all appropriate foreign and international guarantees. "The Arabs," King Khalid said recently, "have learned to be moderate, reasonable. Gone are the days of Nasser's period when the Arabs threatened to exterminate the Israelis."

Our job is to get Israel to withdraw, not to sacrifice or sell Israel out, but to persuade her to a course consistent with UN resolutions, with the UN charter itself, with declared American objectives such as the Rogers Plan of 1969, and with our own traditional principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. We do not have forever to carry the assignment out: if the interim Sinai agreement is not soon followed by other, more substantial steps, especially with respect to the central question of Palestinian rights, frustrations will increase and tensions will rise; moderate Arab leaders will either be radicalized or displaced; and a fifth war will follow. Now is the time of opportunity—and it may not soon be repeated.

As we concentrate our attention on the interim agreement, we should not overlook the seriousness of the tragedy which is unfolding in Lebanon. It has been estimated that as many as 3,500 have been killed and 13,000 wounded in Lebanon since April. It is reported that radical terrorists have been infiltrated from various areas and that arms and money are supplied to them from the most extreme, radical revolutionary sources. If Lebanon is torn apart by violence, and a radical left wing authoritarian government is set up, all the plans for present or future peace agreements will be seriously undermined. The seriousness of the situation in Lebanon emphasizes the urgency of a comprehensive peace settlement between Israel and her neighbors and the fact that we cannot afford to delay that settlement.

The Sinai Agreement

Measured against the danger and opportunity, and also in terms of our own national interest, the Sinai agreement can be represented as no more than a modest gain at best, purchased at an exceptionally high cost. It is not my purpose here, however, to review its specific terms, which have been much discussed in the press in recent weeks. Reluctantly, I have concluded that I would not wish at this late date, despite my apprehensions and reservations, to see the pact completely rejected, but I think it could be modified. I would hope indeed that all concerned would proceed to make the best of it, the Israelis by entering negotiations in good faith with Syria, and for something more than a "cosmetic" agreement; the Egyptians by carrying out their reported promises in good faith, especially those pertaining to matters on which the Israelis are most sensitive such as the Suez Canal, the boycott of firms which deal with Israel, and the suppression of obsolete propaganda. The United States, for its part, must not slide into a period of election-year complacency on the strength of Dr. Kissinger's "constructive ambiguities." Like the 1973 Paris accord on Vietnam, the artful generalities in the Sinai agreement are fraught with peril for the future—and not necessarily the far-distant future—unless the United States acts promptly and vigorously to lead the Middle East parties toward a general settlement based on Security Council Resolution 242. In short, since the interim agreement has been made, what now follows it is of utmost importance.

Through the courtesy of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, interested observers have been able to make a close study of many of the 64 secret as well as public specifications of the Sinai accords. I point to certain potentially troublesome problems

not with a view to undercutting the agreement but in the hope that care will be taken to overcome the dangers and difficulties involved. I might mention that although I would have preferred the use of UN personnel, I am not absolutely opposed to the participation of American technicians in the early warning system under the restrictions imposed by Congress, their immediate removal in the event of hostilities and the right of Congress to require their removal at any time.

My more serious apprehensions are directed toward two basic and potentially dangerous shortcomings in the overall agreement: one is the excessive, sweeping U.S. commitment to Israeli military, energy and economic needs as these are perceived by Israel; the other is what could be a *de facto* American acquiescence in the new status quo for an indefinite period, masked behind several less-than-constructive ambiguities.

It may be no more than a codification of long-standing practice, but there is potential trouble in the American promise, however qualified, to be "fully responsive" to Israel's military, energy and economic needs as Israel perceives them. The prospective sale, or gift, of Pershing ground-to-ground missiles seems particularly unwise and dangerous. Designed to carry either nuclear or conventional warheads, the Pershing has a range of 450 miles—sufficient to strike Cairo or the Aswan Dam; all of Jordan, most of Syria and parts of Saudi Arabia. Even a conventional rocket attack on Cairo or Damascus—or by the Arabs on Tel Aviv—would represent a radical escalation over the previous Arab-Israeli wars, greatly increasing the risk of Soviet-American involvement and confrontation.

At the very least, Israeli acquisition of sophisticated new American weapons will add fuel to the Middle East arms race.

At the very least, Israeli acquisition of sophisticated new American weapons will add fuel to the Middle East arms race. Egypt and Syria already possess Soviet Scud missiles, shorter in range than the Pershing but still lethal and also capable of carrying nuclear warheads. Israeli acquisition of the Pershing may well provoke Arab countries to seek Soviet missiles of equal range and yield. And if congress is as lavish as it has been in the past in providing sophisticated arms to Israel, and at the same time as unreceptive to the arms requests President Sadat has warned us to expect, we may succeed in driving Egypt back into close association with the Soviet Union, something the Russians can have little hope of accomplishing without an assist from the Americans. In any event it now seems probable that another Arab-Israeli war will extend beyond desert battlefields to population centers on both sides.

The asymmetry of our military aid policy is highlighted by the difficulties attending the proposed sale of Hawk ground-to-air missiles to Jordan. On the one side we are ready to provide Israel with a full panoply of sophisticated offensive weapons, including the Pershing and Lance missiles and the forthcoming F-16 aircraft. On the other hand the grudging, suspicious attitude of certain senators and congressmen toward the sale to Jordan of an effective air defense system has had the effect of insulting, humiliating and perhaps alienating one of the most moderate, responsible and pro-American leaders in the Arab world. The American commitment to sustain Israel's economy and satisfy her energy requirements is no less sweeping than the underwriting of Israel's military arsenal. The language of the specific economic commitments, as reported in the press, is provisional, but hardly so provisional that Israel will not charge—and be justified in charging—betrayal if we fail to deliver in all categories. It is technically true, as State Department officials have pointed out, that the Egyptian-Israeli disengagement agreement will remain binding regardless of American compliance or non-compliance with ancillary military, economic and political inducements. But as was discovered following the Paris accords on Vietnam, there is danger in this kind of sleight of hand—danger of misunderstanding and miscalculation, of bluffs being called and delicately balanced structures coming unglued. I note with particular apprehension the U.S. commitment to provide oil to Israel even in the event of an embargo, and also to compensate Israel through foreign aid for the loss of the Abu Rudeis fields in Sinai. One wonders why it should be necessary to compensate a country for giving up resources that did not belong to that country in the first place. Consider too the possibility of a general embargo—one against the United States as well as Israel—in which event we would still be bound to make oil available to Israel, under the allocation formula of the International Energy Agency, and also help to transport it. A period of sustained oil embargo would not seem the ideal time for the United States to take on added economic burdens. Extrapolating from the experience of the 1973 embargo, a Library of Congress expert calculates that a six-months' embargo in 1977 would result in additional unemployment in the United States of a million to a million and a half and a loss in gross national product ranging from $39 billion to $56 billion. In view of the fact that an embargo is only likely to occur in the event of another Arab-Israeli war, the question arises whether we would provide Israel with oil regardless of the circumstances which gave rise to the embargo and to the consequent hardships imposed on the American people. Would we provide Israel with oil even if the embargo were precipitated by a war started by Israel? Under the agreement as it stands, it would seem we would be bound to do exactly that. How much preferable, and how much more responsible, it would have been if we had qualified this commitment, and used it as leverage, to discourage any possible Israeli preemptive strike. The overall cost of the Sinai agreement to the American taxpayers is not easily calculated—among other reasons because the commitment—or provisional commitment—to "make every effort to be fully responsive" to Israel's military, energy and general economic requirements is open-ended as to time, amount and circumstances. The "memorandum of agreement" defines no conditions under which the United States would be released from its promises, even if Israel were to initiate a future conflict.

The second basic difficulty with the Sinai accords is the far-ranging, potentially conflicting political and diplomatic promises made by the United States, which seem to add up to a de facto underwriting, for an indefinite period, of the new status quo. There would seem to be no technical inconsistencies in the language of the accords, only substantive ones that are not easy to reconcile, especially with regard to the withdrawal from the Golan Heights, a serious and difficult problem for Israel as well as Syria.

The Syrian government has been denouncing the Sinai accords both longer and more intensely than their erstwhile Egyptian allies expected, even to the extent of threatening that Syria will not deal with Egypt as long as the "strange and disgraceful" agreement—as

they describe it—stands: the Egyptians, embarrassed and discomfited, point wistfully to the U.S. assurance that it "intends to make a serious effort to help bring about further negotiations between Syria and Israel. . . ." The Israelis, for their part, note with satisfaction the U.S. assurance that in its view the agreement with Egypt stands on its own and that the Egyptian commitments are "not conditional upon any act or developments between the other Arab states and Israel." This is unquestionably read by the Israelis, and perhaps meant to be read by them, as a promise that the United States will not apply pressure on them to negotiate with Syria. Though not inconsistent in a purely technical way, the American assurances to Egypt and to Israel regarding Syria are scarcely reconcilable in substance. Behind the artful diplomatic language we seem to have come perilously close to having promised one thing to one side, something quite different to the other.

At least for public consumption the Israelis have made it clear that they expect no agreement with Syria, except perhaps a "cosmetic," which is to say, meaningless, agreement. Prime Minister Rabin declared in Jerusalem on September 17, "I see the possibility for an interim agreement in the Golan Heights as very doubtful." And even this may be an understatement." And on September 5 he had said that there was "virtually no chance" for an interim agreement with Syria, among other reasons because the extensive Israeli settlements on the occupied lands "were not established in order to be evacuated." Perhaps secret arrangements have already been made for serious negotiation on the Golan Heights and the tough Israeli rhetoric is only a smokescreen for domestic opinion, but until and unless evidence of this is forthcoming, interested observers must base their judgments on what is publicly known. With this qualification, my own judgment is that prospects for a new, significant Syrian-Israeli agreement are bleak.

What now of "step by step"? Where and how is further momentum to be generated toward peace? In the basic Egyptian-Israeli agreement the parties solemnly affirm that their agreement is not final, that they are "determined" to reach a "final and just peace settlement." As we consider how this general resolve may be realized, it is pertinent to note that in the two memoranda of agreement the United States concurs with Israel that any further agreements with Egypt or Jordan should be part of a final settlement, and the United States further promises that it will continue to boycott the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as long as the PLO does not recognize Israel. Adding these conditions to Israel's adamancy about Syria, one does not readily discern where the next step is going to be taken, or how and in what form progress may be expected at a reconvened Geneva conference.

There may be promise in Secretary Kissinger's proposal of September 22 [1975] to the UN General Assembly that "more informal multilateral meeting" be convened to "assess conditions," but the proposal needs to be thought through and spelled out, especially as to the central question of the Palestinians, which cannot be forever postponed and evaded, however convenient that might seem diplomatically and politically. Pending further clarification of the Ford administration's future policy—or some as yet unavailable evidence that there really are going to be serious negotiations between Israel and Syria—one can only discern from the package of Sinai agreements a *de facto* American acceptance of the new status quo.

Important constitutional questions arise in connection with the American role in these agreements. In addition to the far-reaching American commitment to meet Israel's military, economic and energy needs, the United States is committed to "view with particular gravity threats to Israel's security or sovereignty by a world power," and also in the immediate future to "conclude the contingency plan for a military supply operation to Israel in an emergency situation." These are not absolute, unqualified commitments, but neither are the NATO treaty or our security treaties with Japan and others, all of which allow for action through our constitutional procedures. If these were thought of sufficient solemnity to justify treaties ratified by the Senate, why are the equally if not more far-ranging promises to Israel in the Sinai accords contracted through semi-secret "memoranda of agreement?" Was the Congress's vigorous and vaunted reassertion of its foreign policy powers restricted to matters of the late war in Southeast Asia, or trade with the Soviet

Ariel Sharon's so-called "pacification of Gaza" *campaign in 1971 involved merciless and brutal repression, blowing up or bulldozing thousands of Palestinian homes in the Gaza refugee camps and the arrest and deportation of several thousand Palestinians into the Sinai Desert, Jordan or Lebanon. Sharon imposed a policy of repression, imposing severe collective punishments. Numerous civilians were unjustly killed or imprisoned, and the whole area was effectively transformed into a giant outdoor jail. In 1972, Sharon resigned from the army, but after helping to form the Likud Party in 1973, he was recalled to the Israeli army for the October 1973 "Yom Kippur" war.*

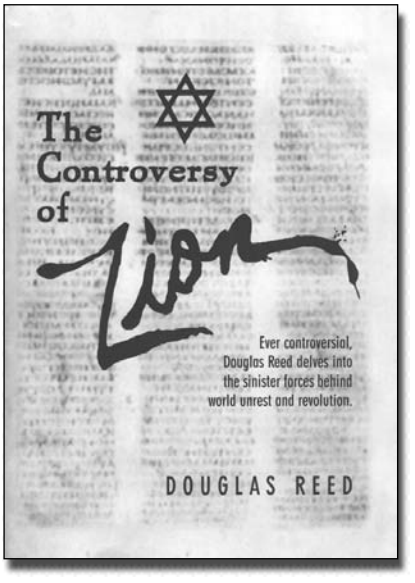
Union, or aid to Turkey? In short, does the constitutional principle vary with the issue?

While Congress considers the various aid packages and other proposals connected with the Sinai agreements, I most respectfully urge my colleagues to bear in mind the responsibilities which they themselves affirmed through the War Powers Act of 1973, the Case Act of 1972 requiring the reporting of all executive agreements, and the National Commitments Resolution of 1969 in which the Senate expressed its sense that "a national commitment by the United States to a foreign power necessarily and exclusively results from affirmative action taken by the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government through means of a treaty, convention, or other legislative instrumentality specifically intended to give effect to such a commitment."

The Ford administration in general—and Secretary Kissinger in particular—were undoubtedly taken aback to see their Middle East handiwork criticized for its limited achievement and high cost. In their view, and I believe it to be accurate, they were doing all they could do within the confines of political reality, foreign and domestic. How, they asked, could Israel and the Arab states have been brought to a general settlement when it took all the diplomatic skill we could muster, and billions of dollars besides, to bring Egypt and Israel to this very limited agreement? How too, they must have asked—and this with no small irony and vexation—can Congress express apprehension at the magnitude of our military and economic commitment to Israel when only five months ago 76 senators signed a letter virtually demanding—and in effect compelling—these very commitments?

All of which points up one very crucial, central fact: that the key to peace in the Middle East is in the internal politics of the United States. As long as the Israeli lobby retains its extraordinary power to mobilize large majorities in Congress, the executive will be accordingly hobbled in any efforts it may care to make to bring the Middle East antagonists to a peace based on Security Council Resolution 242. As long as congressmen and senators are unwilling to face the political risk, possible loss of campaign contributions, and personal unpleasantness of well-organized pressure campaigns, we can expect little in the Middle East except deadlock, terrorism, tedious negotiations with little if any result, and in due course, sooner or later, the fifth Arab-Israeli war. ❖

J. William Fulbright served for 30 years as U.S. senator from Arkansas. A Rhodes scholar and a lawyer, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives as a Democrat in 1942 and entered the Senate in 1945. In 1946 he sponsored the Fulbright Act, which provided government grants for the international exchange of students and teachers. He was often critical of U.S. foreign policy, speaking out against the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 and the armed intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965. In the late 1960s he became a leading opponent of the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. The outspoken senator lost his seat in a 1974 electoral thumping at the hands of Dale Bumpers. But while the defeat surprised and devastated Fulbright, he continued to speak out against Zionist domination in American politics.


The Controversy of Zion
Ever controversial, Douglas Reed delves into the sinister forces behind world unrest and revolution.
DOUGLAS REED

Why?

NEW 2003 EDITION!

Commencing in 1951, Britain's foremost World War II correspondent spent more than three years writing ***The Controversy of Zion***—all 300,000 words of it. He completed the epilogue in 1956. Although there is correspondence to show that the book was once discussed with his publisher, the manuscript was never submitted, but remained for 22 years gathering dust in Reed's home in Durban, South Africa. **WHY?**

In Europe during the years immediately before and after World War II, the name of Douglas Reed was on everyone's lips. His books were being sold by the tens of thousands. He was known with intimate familiarity throughout the English-speaking world by a vast army of fans. And then he was banished. Was it this book? ***The Controversy of Zion*** (Item #375, softcover, 587 pages with a *Preface* by Ivor Benson and a complete subject index and notes) is available from TBR Book Club for $22.50 minus 10% for TBR subscribers. Add $5 per book S&H inside the U.S.; $8 per book outside the U.S. Send payment to TBR, P.O. Box 15877, Washington, D.C. 20003 using the handy coupon on page 80 or call toll free 1-877-773-9077 and charge to Visa or MasterCard.

Academia watch: Joseph Ellis, the pompous, pontificating historical hack, the author of "acclaimed" books on Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, has been caught under a lifetime of lies. Stephen Goode of *Insight* magazine has written an excellent article detailing the lies, arrogance and academic cover-up of Ellis's life, one which rings very familiar to those of us who have spent time in the "hollowed halls." Dr. Ellis claimed that he was a paratrooper in Vietnam; he told that to his students semester after semester at Mount Holyoke College, a position paid for by the Ford Foundation. He claimed that he was a star football player in high school. He claimed that he was a "civil rights" marcher in the 1960s South, and "harassed" by "redneck" cops in Mississippi. All of them lies. To its credit, *The Los Angeles Times* has called for his resignation. The most his unfortunate college will do is to forbid him to teach his Vietnam War course. What is worse is the academic elite's knee-jerk defense of one of their own; nervously protecting what one day could be their own academic obituary. Another pseudo-intellectual hack, the president of the Joanne Creighton College for women, denounced a recent *Boston Globe* article exposing the lifetime of lies this "historian" has spun, calling it "prying into his private life" and "of no public purpose." She protests too much. Ellis is just another faker who is one of the rare ones who got caught. By the way, he's the one who broke the discredited story about the Jefferson-Sally Hemings affair. Mr. Goode writes, quoting Ellis: "'Even in the best of lives, mistakes are made,' he said with that unrelenting arrogance characteristic of so many American academics." Furthermore, Ellis, in his pomposity, has refused to admit they are lies, Goode writes: "Ellis has apologized for his behavior but stopped short of calling his misapprehensions lies. He says his failure was to 'let stand' his claims without disavowing them."

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In Argentina, during the greatest economic crisis in its difficult history, the Peronist Party, named for the great populist leader of that nation in the 1940s (see TBR November/December 2002), though ruling, is deeply divided between its party's heavyweights: President Eduardo Duhalde, Carlos Menem (who abandoned nearly all the party's principles in a harlot's deal with the IMF), Nestor Kirchner, who might leave the party, and Adolofo Rodriguez Saa, likely the strongest electoral candidate the party has at present. Many political scientists in Argentina are claiming that Peronism is dead in Argentina. With it, however, organized populism and nationalism may be as well. It might be time for someone to investigate CIA infiltration into Argentine politics, attempting to remove the populist resistance to the IMF and World Bank "restructuring plans."

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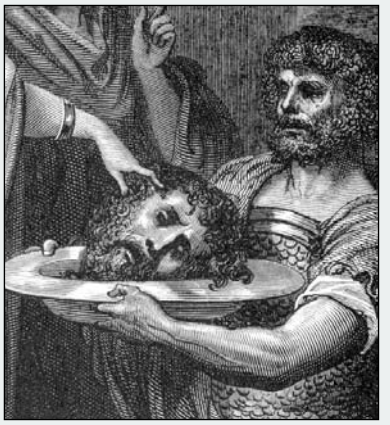
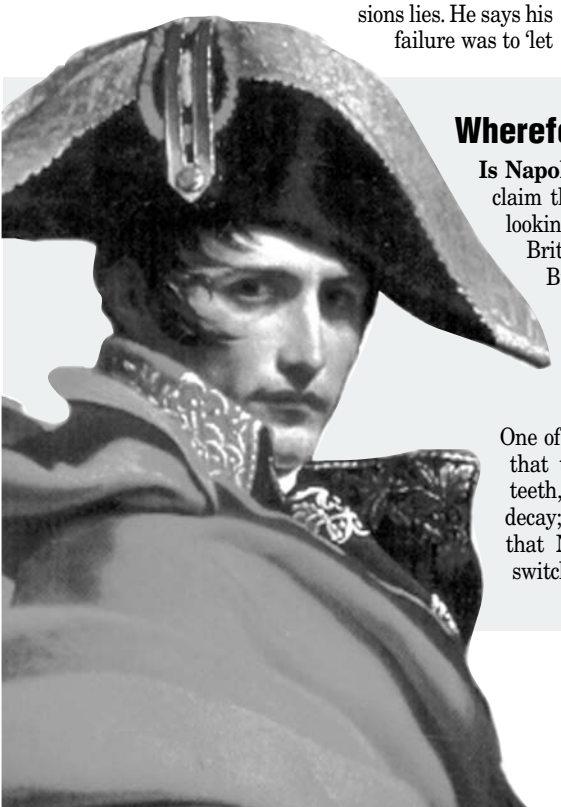
In Zhovkva, Ukraine, hundreds of bodies have been found underneath the Vasilyansky monastery. Clearly they were the work of the NKVD after World War II. At present, nearly 225 sets of remains have been unearthed, many of them children. They were killed either with a single gunshot to the back of the neck, or with an ax. Coins have been found dated 1946 and 1947, and pictures that include images of posters with local party leaders who are very time-bound. Older people in the village told of when the NKVD occupied the monastery after the war. Still, for *The Washington Post,* which reported the story, the great "Nazi hunting" media outlet, everything is still a "mystery." If the *Post* gets too deep into this, they will likely find a disproportionately Jewish killing machine against the Christians of Ukraine, a region possibly the most hated by post-war Jewish elites, only after Germany. Of course, there are no "calls for justice," no American former NKVD officials in the dock, no editorials lecturing the world about the "dangers of intolerance." Researchers have only just begun unearthing the endless list of atrocities that communists perpetrated, reaching quite possibly into the stratosphere of 30 or 40 million worldwide. But they were only goyim!



The Head of the Baptist?

Islamic researchers, just east of the River Jordan have unearthed a skull in a carved, 1st century cave, which they say is St. John the Baptist. It was found under the remains of a 4th century Orthodox Church, however, other Orthodox churches, roughly from the same era, were built nearby, suggesting that this specific site was considered sacred. St. John the Theologian, the writer of the fourth Gospel, writes that it was in this area where Jesus Christ was baptized by St. John the Baptist. Several researchers in the area have also claimed that this skull does belong to St. John, though further testing is being done.



Wherefore Art Thou Napoleon?

Is Napoleon buried in Invalides? Several researchers claim that it is not Napoleon at all, but that a similar looking man was placed in the grave to cover up the British murder of the "liberal dictator." Researcher Bruno Roy-Henri wants to conduct DNA testing, though the French government refuses. Roy-Henri claims that the descriptions of Napoleon's burial at St. Helena, versus the exhumation to bury him in Paris in 1840, provide reasonable cause to perform a DNA test. One of the pieces of evidence used to argue for a test is that the corpse has unusually white and attractive teeth, while Napoleon suffered from chronic tooth decay; there are other problems as well. Many claim that Napoleon was poisoned by British agents who switched his corpse after interment at St. Helena.

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According to ace historical investigator and longtime friend of TBR, Dr. Harrell Rhome, it seems that Wal-Mart has banned the printing of any athletic jerseys with the number "88," for, they say, this longtime Nazi symbol is a "symbol of hate." And speaking of Harrell and his *Eagle Newsletter* (EagleNewsTips@aol.com), he has also uncovered the fact that nearly 100 Israeli soldiers have refused West Bank duty. They placed a notice in *Ha'aretz* reading: "The price of occupation is the loss of the Israeli Defense Force's semblance of humanity and the corruption of all Israeli society. We will no longer fight beyond the Green Line with the aim of dominating, expelling, starving and humiliating an entire people."

Boris Yeltsin's Market Bolshevism

BY ROBERT LOGAN

When, in 1991, the former Soviet Union embarked upon the transition from a state-controlled, planned economy (state capitalism) to what was heralded to be a free market (private capitalism) system, the Western democracies rejoiced. But what was hailed as the "best of times" by the new governing class was experienced to be the "worst of times" by the Russian people, who remained impoverished. Officially communism was dead, but communists and other criminals remained in power to administer the influx of western capital and to appropriate for themselves the raw materials and industries that rightly belonged to the Russian people.

The best descriptions of the financial shenanigans during the Clinton-Yeltsin period have been provided by two well-informed lady investigative reporters, Janine Wedel in her book *Collision and Collusion,*[1] and Anne Williamson, writing in various publications. Their findings are used heavily in the section dealing with the reformers.

Mafia-style crime in Russia and the United States has been vividly described by two independent investigative reporters, namely, Stephen Handelman in *Comrade Criminal*[2] and by Robert Friedman in *Red Mafiya.*[3] High-level financial, governmental and economic crimes have been thoroughly examined in the CSIS study *Russian Organized Crime and Corruption*[4] and in the Congressional Cox Report, *Russia's Road to Corruption.*[5] These last two named works make it manifestly clear that most of the criminality in Russia is perpetrated by the ruling class in collusion with transnational financial interests. By and large, the mass of the Russian people, as has been the case throughout Russian history, has had almost nothing to do with events—political, economic, criminal or otherwise—that transpire in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

The Russian people, who have now experienced the worst of both communism and capitalism, are understandably cynical about the words "democracy" and "free marketplace." One revealing saying circulating in Russia states that "communism and capitalism are but the two buttocks of the same derrière." To reinforce their cynicism, the Russians see many of the same individuals who benefited from and governed under communism now benefit and rule under capitalism.

The transition from communism to capitalism was chiefly engineered by a small clique of Harvard and Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) University financial and economic "liberal reformers." The United States has become, once again, as under communism, public enemy number one of the Russian people. The Harvard group, officially designated the Harvard Institute of International Development (HIID) operated under the auspices of USAID [Agency for International Development], with the full backing of the U.S. executive branch and the U.S. Treasury.

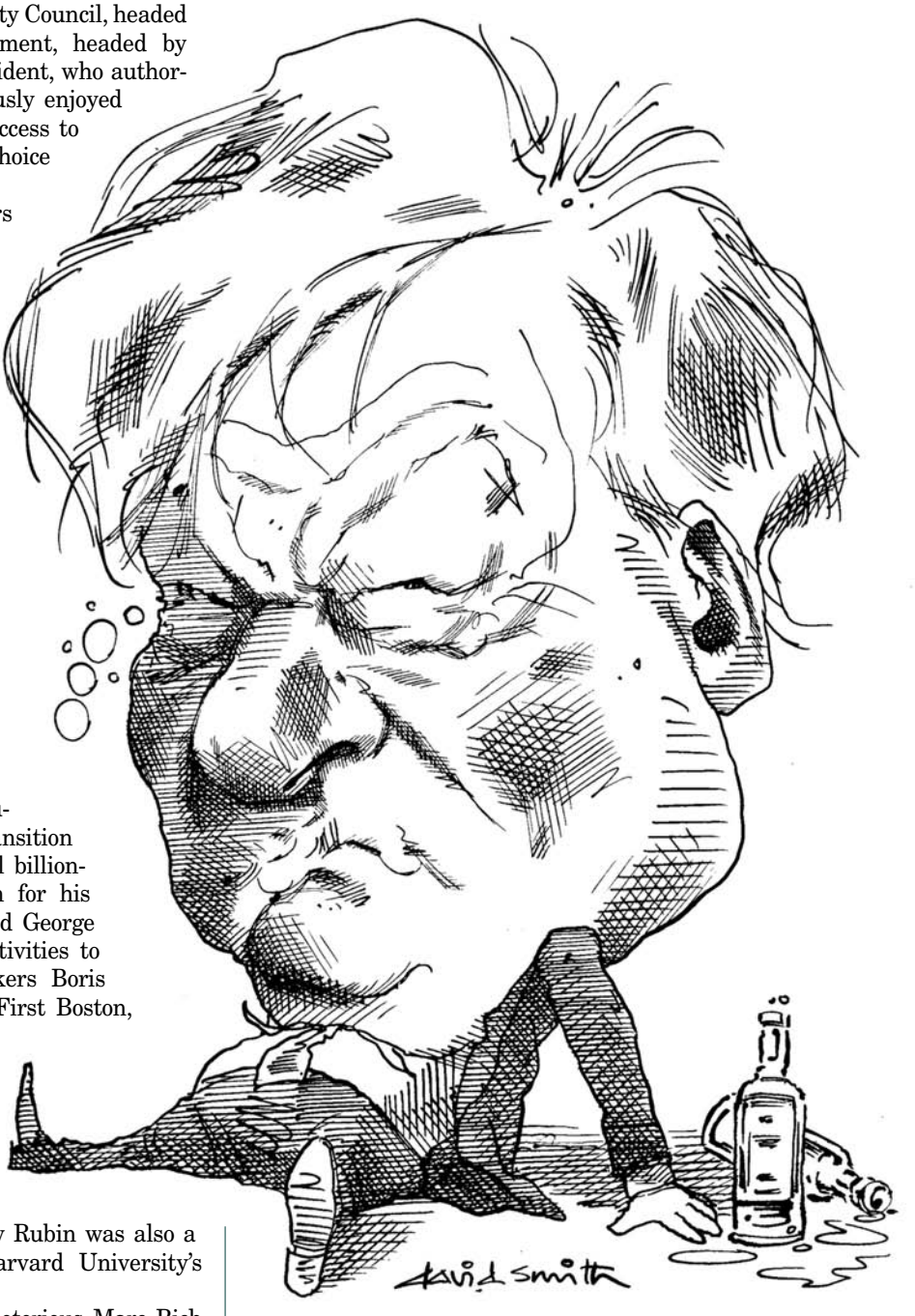
The U.S. government contracted HIID, a private entity, without competitive bidding, to undertake the establishment of private ownership and a market economy in Russia. The Harvard group was headed by Jonathan Hay, who was on-site director of the HIID program in Russia, and Jeffrey Sachs, primarily the salesman and lobbyist. Other players were David Lipton, Sachs's former business associate, who served as deputy assistant secretary of the Treasury for eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in 1993-95; Andrei Shleifer, a Russian-born economist who served as project director of HIID in Russia and on the board of the Russian Privatization Center, the recipient of millions of Western-aid dollars for distribution; the wives of both Hay and Shleifer; Robert Rubin, U.S. secretary of the Treasury; Lawrence Summers, who was initially chief economist at the World Bank and then later secretary of the U.S. Treasury; and others.

The U.S. Treasury, a leading agency formulating U.S. policy toward Russia and Ukraine, approved and supported the collaboration of the "Chubais Clan" and HIID projects. Also supporting

HIID activities were the U.S. National Security Council, headed by Sandy Berger; the U.S. State Department, headed by Madeleine Albright; and ultimately the president, who authorized the aid distribution. Since HIID obviously enjoyed the blessings of the U.S. government and access to the aid money, the Russians had no other choice but to deal with it.

Treasury secretaries Rubin and Summers also had years-long associations with Goldman & Sachs Co., which became a major investor in Russia. Rubin was a senior partner and co-chairman of Goldman Sachs when he was appointed Treasury secretary. The president also appointed Kenneth Brody, a Goldman Sachs general partner to be chairman of the Export-Import Bank. The president's chief of staff, "Mack" McLarty, former White House chief of staff, a friend of Clinton from childhood, was also a colleague of Rubin in Goldman Sachs. Both Rubin personally and Goldman Sachs had contributed generously to the Democratic Party and President Clinton. Earlier in the late 1980s, Goldman Sachs helped to underwrite $400 million in bonds for the Arkansas Development Finance Authority.

Also very active in exploiting the opportunities presented during the chaotic early transition period in Russia were several transnational billionaire speculators: Marc Rich, better known for his presidential pardon than for his crimes, and George Soros, who adroitly mixes philanthropic activities to sweeten his business proposals. The bankers Boris Jordan, associated with the Credit Suisse First Boston, and Vladimir Potanin, associated with the United Export Import Bank (Unexim), together established the investment bank Renaissance Capital and the Sputnik Fund which in turn attracted George Soros and the Harvard Management Co. (HMC), Harvard's endowment fund. Former U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Rubin was also a member of the HMC, which oversees Harvard University's investments.



Interestingly but not surprisingly, the notorious Marc Rich was one of the first vultures to swoop in to feed off the carcass of the decaying Soviet Union. For the first two years after the collapse of the USSR, Rich made a fortune buying Russian minerals and oil products from corrupt Soviet officials at extremely low prices and then reselling them at prices 10 times higher on the world market. Always dealing with America's political enemies, Rich facilitated the Soviet Union's subsidization of Cuba. To avoid shipping Soviet oil all the way to Cuba, Rich bought Cuba's share from the USSR, resold it on world markets at higher market prices and arranged for Cuba to import its oil from South America.

Rich's financial schemes became the model for many of the later Soviet "reformers," who eventually squeezed him out and went on to become the hectomillionaire and billionaire oligarchs we know today. Rich of course operated out of Switzerland, where he, very likely, made first contacts with budding oligarchs like Berezovsky. The corrupt Russian "reformers" and government officials obviously had to have accomplices in the West to teach them how to circumvent and violate banking and investment laws.

Another famed transnational operator, the media mogul Robert Maxwell, through his contacts with Soviet and Israeli intelligence bosses, was deeply involved in laundering Russian (Jewish) mafia money very early in the game. Even before the official "collapse" of the Soviet Union was publicly announced, Maxwell, working with Soviet intelligence, arranged to have many Soviet front companies established in the West. Maxwell was equally at home with many of the East-bloc mafia bosses,

especially Semion Yukovich Mogilevich. Most of those criminals had been issued Israeli passports and had easy access to the United States.[6]

On the Russian side, the so-called "Chubais Clan," i.e., the clique of financial and political fat cats surrounding Anatoly Chubais, in addition to its leader, Chubais himself, chairman of the Russian Privatization Center (RPC; later called the State Property Committee, SPC), consisted of Alfred Kokh, deputy chairman of RPC/SPC; Maxim Boycko, CEO of the RPC/SPC; Yegor Gaidar et al. All occupied important positions in the Yeltsin government.

Through what personal connections or machinations the Harvard group discovered and chose to collaborate with the St. Petersburg young reformers—to the exclusion of almost all other interested and competent Russians—is unknown. The Western media described them as precisely what was needed to apply "shock therapy" to the Russian economy. It is quite possible that arrangements for handling Western-aid monies were made even before the official collapse of the USSR in 1990.

VLADIMIR PUTIN

Almost all original members of the Chubais Clan met and organized in the "Perestroika Club" in the mid-1980s in Leningrad. Almost all had studied at either Leningrad State University, the Institute of Economics and Engineering or the Institute of Finance and Economics. Astute enough to be aware of the failure of the state-controlled Soviet economy, they studied and discussed Western economic models, preparing for the day the Soviet system would have to be reformed or restructured. The oligarch Boris Berezovsky was also on good terms with the young Leningrad reformers.

Chubais and Kokh first joined the Leningrad municipal government where they became associated with Anatoly Sobchak, the major of Leningrad, and his first deputy, Vladimir Putin, soon to be head of state. Under Sobchak and Putin's rule, St. Petersburg failed to prosper, however; the city sank steadily into debt and poverty. Sobchak and Putin were voted out of office in 1996. Chubais, who was then firmly entrenched in the Yeltsin administration in Moscow, brought Putin into the central government.

It was precisely the policies of the U.S.-backed "young reformers" that led to the disintegration, impoverishment and criminalization of Russia. When prices were freed, hyperinflation followed, wiping out the meager savings of the people. Their privatization program put Russia's major industries and mineral wealth in the hands of a few insiders. Their subsidization of the banks, providing them with loans at negative interest rates, rigged the securities market to their and their friends' advantage. In the loans-for-shares auctions of the mid-1990s, the remaining key industries were acquired by the reformers and their friends. The reformers enriched themselves with Russia's resources even as they pauperized the people. They confiscated the wealth of the country. They created nothing.

U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Lawrence Summers used to refer to the Chubais Clan as his "dream team."

It was the reformer group, led by Chubais and backed by the United States, which created the small group of ultra-rich oligarchs. Of the seven major bankers, also called the "banker disciples," who control roughly half the Russian economy, the best known of are Berezovsky and Gusinsky, who have recently retired to splendid exile in England and Gibraltar, respectively. The others are Mikhail Khodorkovsky (oil, Menatep); Vladimir Potanin (Unexim); Aleksandr Smolensky (Stolichny bank); Mikhail Friedman, Pyotr Aven (Alfa banking). Potanin is Russian; the rest enjoy dual citizenship with Israel. Russians sarcastically referred to the privatization program as the "piratization" program.

Although Yeltsin and his party rarely received more than 5 percent of the national vote, he was backed by the wealth and prestige of America and simply passed the disastrous reform policies by decrees with almost the same impunity as any leader of the former Soviet Union. In some case the Harvard representatives actually wrote the decrees that Yeltsin signed. The Yeltsin brand of capitalism, tamed somewhat by Putin, is sometimes referred to as "market bolshevism."

It was the U.S. Congress itself that opened the doors of the United States to the Russian-speaking Jewish mafia. In 1972 Senator "Scoop" Jackson, co-sponsor of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, virtually compelled the Soviet Union to send us tens of thousands of Russian Jews by threatening to withhold most-favored nation status from any socialist country that refused. The amendment was passed over the bitter opposition of President Richard Nixon. Brezhnev complied, but like Castro at the time of the Muriel exodus, released many Jewish thugs and mental cases from prisons and other institutions, to join the legitimate emigrants.

Later, following the passage of the Lautenberg Amendment, the U.S. government granted special refugee status to Soviet Jews as victims of religious persecution. As early as 1993, INS investigators estimated that a mere .5 percent of the individuals entering the States under the Lautenberg Amendment actually meet the definition of refugee. As refugees, the government spends about $9,000 a head to import each of these immigrants, who are then eligible for welfare benefits. Further, the FBI estimates that half of the 4,000 Jewish mobsters now in the United States were admitted under the Lautenberg Amendment. Nonetheless, Congress has chosen to extend the Lautenberg Amendment year after year.[7]

In late 1998, Chubais himself admitted to the newspaper *Kommersant Daily* that he had "conned" the International Monetary Fund out of more than $20 billion, when he lied about the true state of Russia's ailing economy.

Since some major U.S. and Swiss banks (e.g., Bank of New York [BNY], Credit Suisse, First Boston, Republic National Bank of New York) are implicated in laundering oligarch money and in purchasing and exporting U.S. Federal Reserve notes to Russia, the House Banking Committee is also investigating these billion-dollar transfers. Anne Williamson, another expert on the Russian

BEREZOVSKY

GUSINSKY

CHUBAIS

ABRAMOVICH

KHODORKOVSKY

AVEN

POTANIN

The Oligarchs Confiscate Russia

When Vladimir Putin began his term in office, the oligarchic elites of Russia, certain that this man would do their dirty work for them as Yeltsin had done, struck a deal with the new administration saying that, if you leave us alone, we'll stay out of politics.

The notion was, of course, that Putin and his administration did not have the resources for a fight with some of the richest men in the world.

Making matters worse, Putin, being an intelligence man himself, knew full well that the Mossad also was behind much of the ill-gotten gains of these overwhelmingly Jewish elites. Most oligarchs in Russia have dual citizenship.

But then the deal was broken, and, as the Putin administration oversaw (and presently oversees) the substantial growth in economic investment, stable tax collection, wages and profits, he was no longer working from a position of weakness.

Mikhail Khodorkovsky was heard by numerous politicians and bureaucrats in Russia saying that he was thinking of buying several political parties and creating a forum for his views. He was even heard to say that he was considering who his prime minister would be once he assumed power.

Putin realized quickly that, because Khodorkovsky was close to Mossad, his political power aspirations were closely tied up with Israel's, as well as the oil magnates of the United States. In other words, the dirty little secret of the oligarchical clans in Russia was out: that this was as much an Israeli/ American operation as a mere case of selfish profiteering.

Khodorkovsky picked the wrong time to act. The popularity of the oligarchs in Russia is nonexistent. Most Russians blame them for the destruction and looting of the Russian economy and, further, largely credit Putin for the present robust revival. Before this Mossad operative could move to take over the country, Putin had him arrested, while the conservative/liberal establishment in Washington went orbital. ❖

economy and western aid, testified before the House Banking and Financial Services Committee that the BNY "is a looting operation," and further:

> **Clinton's policy was a disaster over there. Hundreds of billions of dollars were taken out of Russia, and they were stealing from their own people. It was our people who were misdirecting the IMF money. . . . It's still going on and there is going to be a terrible result in the future that we're all going to have to deal with.**[8]

Central to the money laundering operations of the transnational gangsters is the state of Israel, where money laundering is quite legal and Soviet Jews can come and go as they please. Under the "Right of Return" Soviet Jews had easy access to Israel. They could, even if involved in international crimes, either remain there safely because Israel does not extradite its citizens, or move on to Europe or the United States. Almost all of the Jewish thugs that came to America carried Israeli passports.

New arrivals from Russia were prominent in the Bank of New York scandal as they have been in many sophisticated upscale banking, insurance, and investment schemes. In some cases, accomplices in banks in offshore islands, the Near East (Edmond Safra [Republic National Bank]), Europe and elsewhere have cooperated in these illegal financial activities.

Russia's Central Bank has been systematically siphoning off billions of transferred dollars and stashing them in tax havens abroad, most notably Fimaco (Financial Management Company in Jersey, one of England's Channel Islands). Most troubling is the supposition that Fimaco may represent only one part of a network established even before the Soviet collapse to "manage" anticipated incoming Western funds. Following these revelations, Russia's Central Bank announced plans to assign the U.S. accounting firm PriceWaterhouseCoopers to audit Fimaco. The results are unknown.[9]

In December 1998 Prime Minister Chernomyrdin was assured by former IMF director Michel Camdessus and the head of the World Bank, James Wolfensohn, that, despite all difficulties, Russia would receive its next $700 million payment providing certain preconditions were met. One such condition was the publication of a "Yeltsin" presidential decree on improving state finances, actually originating in the IMF. A second condition, obviously drawn up to benefit Western companies, instructed the Russian government to develop a system of limiting access to oil pipelines for companies having debts to the federal budget or the pension fund.[10]

Inasmuch as the IMF and World Bank "recommendations" came just one week after the Russian government had established its Temporary Extraordinary Commission for Strengthening Tax and Budget Discipline, the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya* complained that not only does the IMF dictate terms to Russia but Messrs. Camdessus and Wolfensohn seem to know everything that happens in the Russian government at precisely the time it happens. A. Livshits, deputy chief of the Russian Presidential Staff and government financial expert, asked: "How is it

that people thousands of kilometers away in Washington can have such incredibly accurate information known only to a few (Russian) White House officials?" The newspaper's reporter, Vasily Stepanov, concluded: "The feigned indignation of Chernomyrdin and Livshits and the show that they staged for the television cameras are designed to divert public attention from the obvious fact that the Kremlin and the Russian government are merely obedient executors of the will of the IMF, the World Bank and other Western institutions."[11]

As a result of these machinations, billions of dollars of Russian industrial and mineral wealth have been put into the hands of criminals, and billions of U.S. taxpayer dollars, ostensibly transferred to Russia to build up its economy and help the Russian people, have found their way into the pockets of transnational swindlers. (U.S. aid to Russia since 1992 has exceeded $36 billion; only America's "strategic ally," Israel, receives more.)

A General Accounting Office study highly critical of the management of U.S. aid to Russia concluded that there was no coordinated strategy directing some $66 billion in Western aid in the 1990s, that political considerations (specifically, shoring up the Yeltsin presidency) took precedence over promoting structural economic reforms, that the United States did not object strongly enough to the "loan-for-shares" privatization program that created windfalls for a few insiders, and that very little effort was expended to fight corruption. House Banking and Financial Services Committee Chairman James Leach was particularly critical of a secret Gore-Chernomyrdin deal "to facilitate a Russian aid policy that resulted in the squandering of American tax dollars for the benefit of a kleptocratic elite, rather than the Russian people." Leach concluded: "Recent U.S. and Western efforts to promote free-market economics in the former Soviet Union have been at best ineffective and at worst counterproductive. . . . It is now self-evident that U.S. policy failed, and the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission is a symbol of that failure."[12] However, there is no talk of indictments.

Operation Spiderweb, operated by Swiss and European investigators with the cooperation of U.S. justice authorities, has linked Mr. Rich to the Russian-Jewish mafia for money laundering.

And what has become of ex-Secretary Summers's "dream team"?

Harvard University decided to shut down the HIID, which was under investigation by both the Justice Department and the House Banking Committee. Of its erstwhile leading figures, Jeffrey Sachs has been transferred to Columbia University where he is director of the Earth Institute,[13] while Andre Shleifer and Jonathan Hay and their wives have been named in a civil suit for abusing the trust of the U.S. government and using personal relationships for private gain. Maxim Boycko was fired for being caught taking bribes. Yegor Gaidar and Anatoly Chubais have become perhaps the most despised people in Russia for having implemented the HIID privatization program, which turned over the major industrial and mining enterprises of the former Soviet Union to a small group of oligarchs. The U.S. government has also sued Harvard University for $120 million, claiming that Harvard staffers enriched themselves personally from a U.S.-backed program.

Former Treasury Secretary Summers, on the other hand, has now—no doubt on the basis of his services to the university—been chosen president of Harvard University. The Harvard Endowment Fund has been greatly enriched. Former Secretary Rubin is currently employed by Citigroup managing questionable big-time financial transactions involving the federal government. Rubin's latest distinction was his appeal to Peter Fisher, the Treasury Department's under secretary for domestic finance, on behalf of Enron. Although the Senate Committee investigating the Enron affair found Citigroup guilty of complicity in Enron's fraud, Rubin himself was exonerated of wrongdoing by the committee, chaired by Joseph Lieberman and Carl Levin. Both Rubin and Summers are also currently involved in the Cobell vs. Norton lawsuit, which accuses Treasury of mismanaging $90 billion in Indian trust accounts and destroying pertinent Indian trust documents.

Marc Rich, as a consequence of the entreaties of his former wife, received a complete pardon from President Clinton. However, it was reported that Operation Spiderweb, operated by Swiss and European investigators with the cooperation of U.S. justice authorities, has linked Mr. Rich to the Russian-Jewish mafia for money laundering. Swiss authorities, especially (Rich is a Swiss citizen), want to question Grigori Loutchansky, an Israeli gangster, about the notorious Nordex Company of which Rich is believed to be a founding partner. Nordex was created by the old guard of the communist regime to allow the exodus of USSR Communist Party funds before the Soviet Union's collapse.[14]

Officially, of course, Strobe Talbott, under secretary of State for Russian Affairs, was responsible for the Clinton administration's policy toward Russia. However, Talbott's book concentrates mostly on presidential diplomacy, on President Clinton's and Talbott's own personal relations with Yeltsin. It says little about the distribution of monies involved, how they were used and misused.[15]

Talbott does cite one encounter between then Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov and Summers in 1999 in which the Russian gave his opinion of the Harvard reformers. Addressing Summers, Primakov accused "your darlings, the young reformers . . . your university boys who come here to teach us as though we were dunces," of being responsible for many of Russia's problems. Finance Minister Mikhail Kasyanov added: "We're not here to take exams or listen to lectures from your professors. If our Western partners had all the solutions to all our problems, we wouldn't be in this mess now, given how hard earlier Russian governments worked to do what your people told us we should do."[16]

The American-sponsored aid to Russia failed to build a sound economy and failed to benefit the Russian people. Much of it was diverted to prop up Yeltsin's corrupt regime and to enrich criminal elements; much of it found its way back out of Russia to western banks and other havens (capital flight). Most of the ill-gotten proceeds were laundered in various Western and Israeli banks.

The reforms introduced to the Russian people by the American advisers were so counterproductive that Sergei Glazyev, minister of foreign economic relations in Yeltsin's first cabinet, who later resigned in protest, compared Russia in 1998 unfa-

COMMENTARY

Boris Yeltsin: Pitiful Tool of the Oligarchy

DR. M. RAPHAEL JOHNSON, PH.D.

Boris Yeltsin: Without a doubt this tool of the oligarchy is one of the most corrupt and incompetent political leaders in modern times. Though his domestic popularity rating never exceeded 6 percent at any time, he was and is continually lauded by American conservatives as the "free market reformer" who brought "democracy" to Russia. As this magazine has said many times before, "democracy" is always the ideological cover for oligarchic control, whether it is in America or Russia.

The USSR collapsed from within due to a number of factors: An antiquated manufacturing and distribution system; severe budgetary strain; loss of military morale; the clear superiority of western manufacturing and technology; and the increased availability of communications equipment such as fax machines, mobile phones and computers.

Mikhail Gorbachev, coming to power in the USSR in 1985, recognized these difficulties and sought to "liberalize" the Soviet structure in hope of luring the west into supporting and assisting the "democratizing" country. As has happened many times in the past, the west took the bait; the USSR was simply too full of natural resources for western capitalism to ignore.

However, once the process was begun, what amounted to a few major areas of liberalization became an avalanche of discontent. Not only did the state come apart, but inflation skyrocketed, manufacturing collapsed, the captive nations declared independence and conscripts by the hundreds of thousands refused to show up for the draft.

However, what came after the fall of the increasingly unpopular Gorbachev was just as bad as anything under Marxism: market bolshevism, the worst of both worlds.

Boris Yeltsin was elected as a popular reformer who quickly became the darling of Beltway hacks about at the same intensity Gorbachev became the Slavic pet for the liberals.

Yeltsin was elected with huge dollops of cash from a shadowy institution called the National Institute for Democracy, a federal agency whose primary purpose is to give money to candidates in foreign elections that promise to support American aims, that is, permit the financial exploitation of the local economy.

As this was occurring, however, a group of former bureaucrats used their high positions in the former Soviet state to buy up shares in the newly privatized formerly Soviet state-run industries. From heavy manufacturing to oil to media, this group, known properly as the "oligarchs," looted the economy of the country, making themselves some of the richest men in the world, while simultaneously plunging Russia into a most severe economic crisis. This looting of the entire country is probably the greatest theft in recorded history.

Yeltsin was supported with cash, campaign assistance, high-tech equipment for his campaign and many other perks from the U.S. government largely because Yeltsin was "the oligarch's politician" who would open the field to the complete economic domination of the oligarchy. Yeltsin was personally weak, as well as an alcoholic, often disappearing for days at a time on benders. He was often incoherent, and his health was not good. In short, he was the perfect democratic politician; a front man for the real powers who still control Russia.

What became clear as the 1990s wore on was that the oligarchs were nearly all Jews. Often, Russia watchers simply

(See BORIS vs VLADIMIR, Page 48)

vorably with Stalin's Russia of the 1930s:

> **The rate of annual population loss has been more than double the rate of loss during the period of Stalinist repression and mass famine in the first half of the 1930s. . . . There has been nothing like this in the thousand-year history of Russia.**[17]

So disastrous has the U.S.-backed HIID reform program been for Russia that more than a few well-educated Russians sincerely believe that it was meticulously engineered strategy contrived by the CIA to wreck Russia once and for all.

Russian nationalists and some western critics have taken note of the considerable number of Jews occupying key positions in both the Clinton administration and the Yeltsin administration during the Russian transition period to American-style capitalism, and that seven out of nine of the major oligarchs in Russia are not Russian but Jews.[18] However, no media figure, and certainly no government official in either the United States or the Russian Federation has ever publicly suggested collusion between the American benefactors distributing the largesse and the Russian beneficiaries involved in the transfer of capital to the new Russian State. Those in our government who were responsible for the transfer of funds were extremely careful in one regard. Absolutely no funds went to institutions or agencies that might conceivably harbor Russian nationalist feelings, such as, for example helping the Russian people take charge of their own affairs. Transnationalist types were preferred. In any case, neither the American taxpayer nor the Russian people were well served by their respective governments in these billion-dollar transactions.

Two recent books confirm the failure of unsupervised and

unmonitored American and European money to transform Russia into a Western-style capitalist state. The first, by Chrystia Freeland, called *Sale of the Century,* nicely relates the story of how Russia was undermined by a new establishment composed of oligarchs and reformers. As Freeland puts it: "Russia was robbed in broad daylight by businessmen who broke no laws, assisted by the West's best friends in the Kremlin—the young reformers."[19] The second, by Stephen F. Cohen, is his book *Failed Crusade*. In it he blames the Clinton administration for its total reliance on Yeltsin and his corrupt friends. Cohen concludes: "The Clinton administration put America on the wrong side of history in post-communist Russia. For this, most historians will judge it very harshly, and some of us already do."[20]

Although himself a product of the Yeltsin government, the current president, Vladimir Putin, has done much to rectify the situation, placating the Russian people while simultaneously maintaining good relations with the United States. ❖

ENDNOTES:

[1] Janine R. Wedel. *Collision and Collusion: The Strange Case of Western Aid to Eastern Europe*. Palgrave, New York, 2001. 322 pp. [Best account yet of American aid to Russia as mismanaged by the Harvard and St. Petersburg reformers.]

[2] Stephen Handelman. *Comrade Criminal*. Yale University Press, 1995, 398 pp.

[3] Robert I. Friedman. *Red Mafiya: How the Russian Mob Has Invaded America*. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, New York and London, 2000.

[4] *Russian Organized Crime and Corruption. Center for Strategic and International Studies: Putin's Challenge*. Washington, D.C., 2000; 74 pp. Project Chair, William H. Webster; Project Director, Arnaud de Borchgrave.

[5] Christopher Cox (Chairman, House Policy Committee, U.S. House of Representatives). *Russia's Road to Corruption: How the Clinton Administration Exported Government Instead of Free Enterprise and Failed the Russian People*. Washington, 2000, 210 pp.

[6] Gordon Thomas, Martin Dillon. *Robert Maxwell: Israel's Superspy.* Carroll and Graf Publishers, New York, N.Y., 2002, 448 pp.

[7] "Vast Soviet Refugee Fraud Detailed." *The Washington Times*, November 4, 1995, A5.

[8] Anne Williamson. *The Contagion: The Betrayal of Liberty, Russia and the United States in the 1990s.*

[9] *The Washington Times*, February 25, 1999.

[10] *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, December 18, 1998.

[11] *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, December 20, 1998.

[12] David R. Sands. "GAO Says U.S. Aid Was Squandered." *The Washington Times*, November 3, 2000.

[13] Jeffrey Sachs Appointed to Head the Columbia Earth Institute. Columbia, Fall 2002, 3. Sachs, who must be considered one of the anointed East Coast financial advisors regardless of the outcomes of his advice, has been installed in the Earth Institute, where he will oversee 1,000 Columbia scholars in the earth, life, and social sciences. His research interests are modestly described as "the links between health and development, globalization, economic geography, emerging markets, global competitiveness, transitions to market economies, international markets and macroeconomic policy coordination, and macroeconomic policies in developing and developed countries."

[14] P.K. Semler. "U.S. Fugitive Rich Linked to Money Laundering." *The Washington Times*, June 21, 2002, 1; Rod Dreher. *New York Post*, February 15, 2001.

[15] Strobe Talbott. *The Russia Hand: A Memoir of Presidential Diplomacy*. Random House, New York, 2002, 480 pp.

[16] Talbott, *op. cit.*, 290.

[17] Sergei Glazyev. *Genocide: Russia and the New World Order*. Executive Intelligence Review, Washington D.C., 1999, 306 pp.

[18] Dr. Oleg Platonov. "Zionism in Russia." THE BARNES REVIEW, No. 1, January/February, 2003, 67-74

[19] Christia Freeland. *Sale of the Century: Russia's Wild Ride from Communism to Capitalism*. Doubleday, Toronto, Canada, 2000, 305 pp.

[20] Stephen F. Cohen. *Failed Crusade: America and the Tragedy of Post-Communist Russia*. W.W. Norton, 2000, 306 pp.

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Boris vs Vladimir . . .

(Continued from previous page)

ignored this elephant in their backyard. Others worried about the inevitable "backlash" against this apparently Jewish cabal. Multi-billionaire Boris Berezovsky (who created the "liberal Russia" party to push his interest), who controlled the Russian media for some time, and held Israeli citizenship, has recently been "baptized" into Orthodoxy. Armand Hammer did a similar thing when he paid the "Unitarians" (a non-Christian, leftist organization), to call him a member. Suddenly, he claimed "not to be Jewish." Another Jewish media oligarch is Vladimir Gusinsky, who, in 1996, organized the oligarchs to elect Yeltsin again, so as to avoid a communist-nationalist election victory, which was clearly developing from the massive discontent the impoverished Russian population was bringing to the surface. Other oligarchs include the embattled oil magnate, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, who was about to form a very liberal political party before current Russian president Vladimir Putin issued a warrant for his arrest. Another oil billionaire is Roman Abramovich, basically holding the same typical opinions as Khodorkovsky. There is Vitali Malkin, Mikhail Fridman, Alexander Smolensky, Vladimir Vinogradov, and Anatoly Chubais, all Jews, and all have ties to Israel, the Russian media, the mafia and the "rebellion" in Chechnya, which they have bankrolled.

Two prime ministers of the Russian Federation since independence from Soviet rule have been Jewish, Sergei Kiriyenko and Eugene Primakov. Therefore, it is easy to see how the Russians can point the finger when they see their own economy in a shambles and their country humiliated.

At present, there are only 1 million Jews in Russia, a country of 150 million. Clearly, then, the oligarchy is bound by ethnicity, and is supported by Jewish ethnic structures.

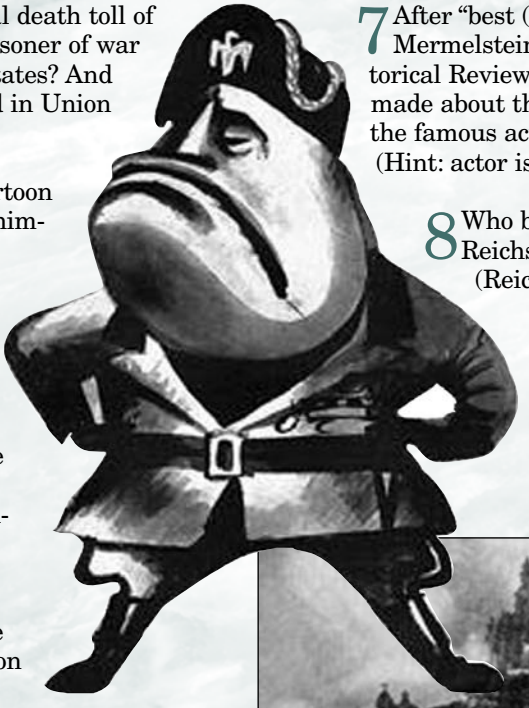
The election of Vladimir Putin was a major setback for the oligarchy. After Yeltsin wished to close several banks the oligarchs controlled, they suddenly began reporting in their TV "news" what a "problem" Yeltsin had become. They financed Putin's campaign.

Putin returned no favors. He issued warrants for the arrest of Gusinsky and Berezovsky. Both fled the country, and Gusinsky has, in retaliation, begun broadcasting "documentaries" about "Russian crimes in Chechnya" and is the basis for many rumors about alleged Russian atrocities there. He has recently called for an investigation of the YUKOS oil giant billionaire Khodorkovsky, setting off a storm of protest from the State Department, as well as Russia scholar Ariel Cohen from the Heritage Foundation. Conservatives were up in arms because of "Putin's war on free enterprise." *The Washington Post*, part owner of the media MOST giant in Russia (Gusinsky's property) screeched about the "destruction of independent media" in Russia. Putin's popularity rating is roughly 90 percent. ❖

THE TBR HISTORY QUIZ

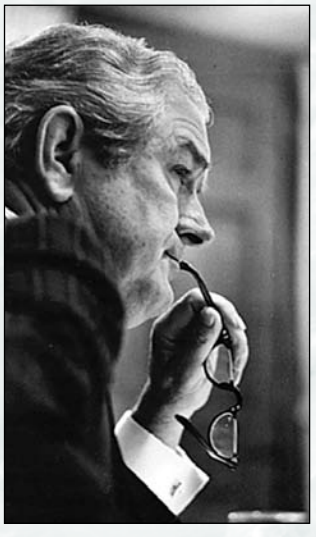
1 In round figures, what was the final death toll of Union prisoners in Confederate prisoner of war camps during the War Between the States? And how many Confederates met their end in Union prisoner of war camps?

2 What was the motto Mussolini (cartoon drawing shown right) adopted for himself upon taking power in Italy?



3 Why did Spiro T. Agnew resign the vice presidency in October of 1973?

4 Everyone knows of the infamous Bay of Pigs fiasco. This was not the first time the U.S. government had planned an "émigré" invasion of a communist country. Could you name one other time, in the 1950s?



5 In the election of 1980 John Connally (shown left) running as an independent, vowed not to appoint any members of this organization to his presidential cabinet.

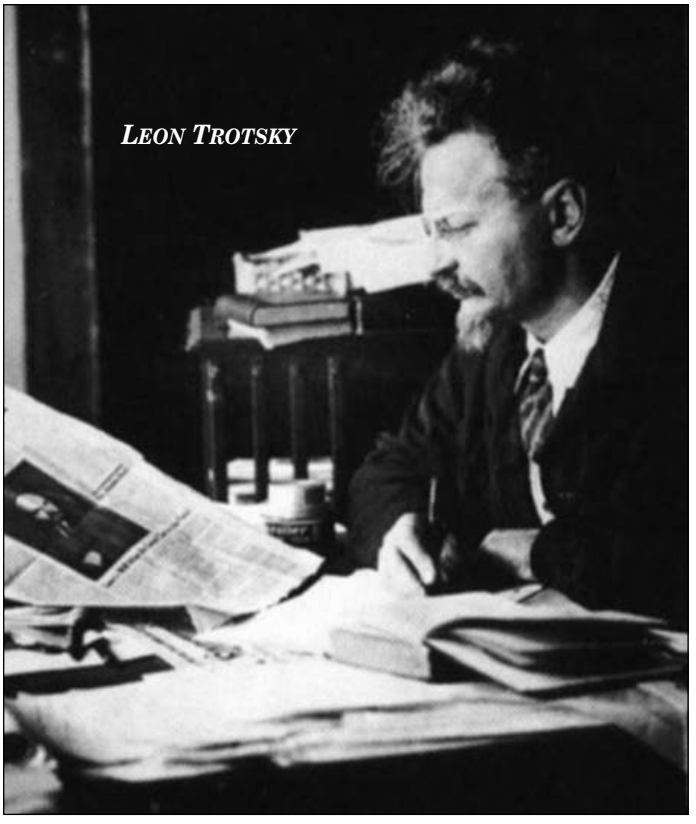
6 During the existence of the Third Reich, roughly how many members of the SS were tried for "mistreating" concentration camp inmates?

7 After "best (Holocaust) witness" Mel Mermelstein sued the Institute for Historical Review in 1981, a fictional movie was made about the trial. Can you name it and the famous actor who played Mermelstein? (Hint: actor is shown below.)

8 Who burnt down the German Reichstag in February of 1933? (Reichstag burning, below.)

9 When is Leif Eriksson Day celebrated in the United States?

ANSWERS: **1.** 22,600 Union prisoners died in Confederate prisons. (TBR Jan. 1996) 26,246 Confederate prisoners died in Union POW camps. (TBR, January 1996). Though keep in mind that the Confederates had nearly 50,000 more prisoners than did the Union. In general, Southern POW camps were less bad places to be than Northern ones. **2.** "Liberty is a Duty, Not a Right." (TBR, July 1995) **3.** Primarily because he was accused of taking bribes from real estate developers in his home state of Maryland. (TBR, October 1997) **4.** Albania. This planned invasion was the brainchild of then Vice President Richard Nixon, who, bizarrely, was the 8th cousin of exiled Albanian monarch Zog. It failed because homosexual communist Kim Philby, based in Washington, D.C., tipped off Albanian dictator Enver Hoxha. (TBR, October 1997). **5.** The Trilateral Commission. He also criticized the Israeli lobby so much that rabbi Emmanuel Rackman called for his assassination (TBR, November 1997) **6.** About 700. (TBR, January/February 2001) **7.** It was called *Never Forget*, and the actor was Leonard Nimoy, who certainly served humanity much better playing Mr. Spock. Had Spock sued the IHR, however, there likely would have been far more logic used in the proceedings. (TBR January/February 2001) **8.** A Dutch leftist named Marinus van der Lubbe. There is little doubt about this because his testimony matched details about the fire (according to the firemen who responded to the burning legislature) to such an extent that he had to be the main actor. (TBR, January 1996) **9.** October 9. (TBR Oct. 1997)



LEON TROTSKY

The Murder of

Leon Trotsky had Russia's most prominent poet, Sergei Yesenin, murdered. Official cause of death: suicide. Despite the fact that his head had been crushed so that brain tissue had leaked out, Yesenin had still been able to hang himself, according to the death certificate.

BY JURI LINA

The principal reason for the murder was Sergei Yesenin's new poem, "Land of Crooks," in which he surprisingly describes a Jewish tyrant—Leibman-Chekistov. All his acquaintances recognized Bronstein/Trotsky by the description. Yesenin welcomed the revolution at the beginning but soon grew disillusioned with it and managed to perceive the dark forces at work behind the political spectacle. That was why he wrote his revelatory poem in which he described how American businessmen took power in Russia with the help of political gangsters who became Soviet prospectors speculating in Marxism. He called the new authorities parasites and actually said that the Soviet republic was a bluff. He also described Trotsky's burning hatred of the Russian culture.

SERGEI YESENIN

Sergei Yesenin had declaimed passages from this poem to many of his acquaintances. Trotsky was informed about the content of the poem and was unable to forgive this.

Yesenin's friend Alexei Ganin, who was also a poet, was arrested in March 1925. He was charged with libel of comrade Leon Trotsky, sentenced to death and executed. He had, together with the other well-known poets Peter Oreshin, Sergei Klychkov and Sergei Yesenin, proclaimed officially that in Russia the Jews held exclusive power. These four had spoken loudly of the injustices of the communist Jews against Russia in a bar at the end of 1923, according to a secret police report.

Disposing of Yesenin was not so easy, however. He was already world famous. He had spent the years 1922-23 in several European countries and the United States, together with his American wife, Isadora Duncan, who was a ballet dancer. As early as February 20, 1924, Judge Kommissarov in Moscow had decided to arrest Yesenin

for anti-Semitic statements. Yesenin learned about this and went underground.

In the beginning of September 1924, Yesenin was hiding in Baku when the GPU man Yakov Blumkin suddenly turned up at Yesenin's hotel and threatened him with a revolver and described what awaited people like him in the GPU cellar in Moscow. Yesenin escaped to Tiflis (Tbilisi) in Georgia, where he acquired a revolver, upon which he returned to Baku.

On September 6, 1925, Yesenin took a train back to Moscow together with Sofia Tolstaya. Two Jews—A. Rog and Levit—suddenly turned up and provoked Yesenin to make statements critical of Jews. Levit and Rog held Yesenin at the station of Kursk and handed him over to the militia. Judge Lipkin demanded his arrest. But he was released, just as had been done in Moscow on March 23, 1924, when the secret agents of the GPU, the Jewish brothers M. and I. Neiman tried to charge him with anti-Semitism (pursuant to paragraphs 172 and 176 of the criminal code). The GPU had then gathered together a large amount of denunciations describing anti-Semitic statements made by Yesenin, who was well aware of the real situation in Russia. This trial would probably have attracted too much attention and the names of several secret agents who had infiltrated Yesenin's circle of acquaintances would also have been revealed. That was why they chose on a number of occasions not to take him to trial, despite the fact that indictments of anti-Semitism (i.e. counter-revolution) had already been brought against him.

So Trotsky decided to dispose of Yesenin in another way. Yesenin moved from Moscow to Leningrad on the evening of

Yesenin

December 23, 1925. He wanted to find a new flat there, to give out his poems in two volumes and begin publishing his own periodical. He intended to stay at the hotel *Angleterre* in the beginning.

Yesenin's murder became a special mission for the GPU, who had earlier kidnapped opponents of the Soviet regime, even abroad, and taken them to Moscow to execute them there.

A group of assassins led by Yakov Blumkin arrived at Yesenin's hotel on the night before December 28, 1925, and broke into his room. Their henchman was Wolf Erlich, who was later given the task of leading astray the investigation into Yesenin's death. Yesenin resisted. His neighbors heard this. Then the murderers kicked Yesenin and seriously injured his head with an object before they hanged the great poet. This was how the brave Sergei Yesenin died.

Yesenin's murderer Yakov Blumkin began his career as a rabbi in the synagogue in Odessa. Like many other orthodox extremist Jews, he sought a position in the Cheka (the revolutionary police) after the Bolsheviks came to power. At the same time he was an official member of the Social Revolutionary Party. Trotsky gave him the mission of murdering the German ambassador Count Wilhelm von Mirbach, on July 6, 1918, to prevent the Brest-Litovsk peace agreement. The Social Revolutionaries were accused of this murder. Also the communist Aino Kuusinen related in her memoirs that Blumkin murdered Mirbach.

After the murder of Ambassador Mirbach, Blumkin was appointed to the Cheka in Kiev in April 1919. In the summer of 1920 he returned to Moscow, where he studied at the military academy. Blumkin was later named military inspector of Caucasia, where he led the crushing of an anti-Soviet rebellion in Georgia in the summer of 1924. Blumkin became truly infamous. He was later sent to Mongolia, where he was made chief of the political police. He began to murder people there with such insane eagerness that the GPU leadership had to call him back to Moscow, according to information from Boris Bazhanov's memoirs. He later helped Trotsky write the propaganda book, *How the Revolution Armed*. In 1925, Trotsky gave him the mission to pursue the poet Yesenin unto his death. All this has now been revealed in the Russian press.

The journalist Georgi Ustinov and his wife Yelizaveta, who also stayed at the hotel, were the first to enter Yesenin's room on the morning of December 28. The assassins had searched through Yesenin's papers and other belongings. They were probably searching for the manuscript of "Land of Crooks" (*Molodaya Gvardiya*, No. 19, 1990). Wolf Erlich also turned up soon after. Ustinov understood what had really happened and promised to tell the whole truth about the poet's murder. On the following day Georgi Ustinov and his wife were found hanged in their room. It was certified that violence had been used against them before they died.

On December 29, 1925, the evening press announced that the 30-year-old poet Yesenin had taken his own life.

Blumkin was finally sent to the Middle East as the Soviet spy-chief. He recruited agents in Syria, Palestine and Egypt. He used a passport in the name of Sultan-Zade. Blumkin's chiefs then were Vyacheslav Menzhinsky and Mikhail (Meier) Trilisser. Hangman Blumkin's days also ended by the aid of hangmen. Stalin had him executed on November 3, 1929, for his meeting with Trotsky in Constantinople in the summer of 1929. Before Blumkin died he shouted: "Long live Trotsky!" (Yuri Felshtinsky, *Collapse of the World Revolution*, London, 1991, 617-618.) ❖

The Last Poem (1925)

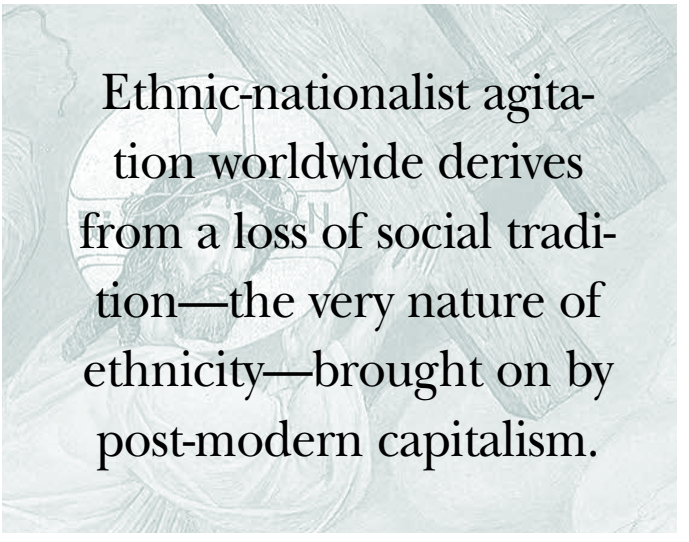
Good-by, my dear, good-by.
Friend, you are sticking in my breast.
The promised destinies are weaving
the thread from parting to a meeting.

Good-by, my dear, no hand or word,
Do not be sad, don't cloud your brow,
To die—in life is nothing new,
But nor is new, of course—to live.

Christian Nationalism & Counterrevolutionary Practice: A Note on a Christian Culture

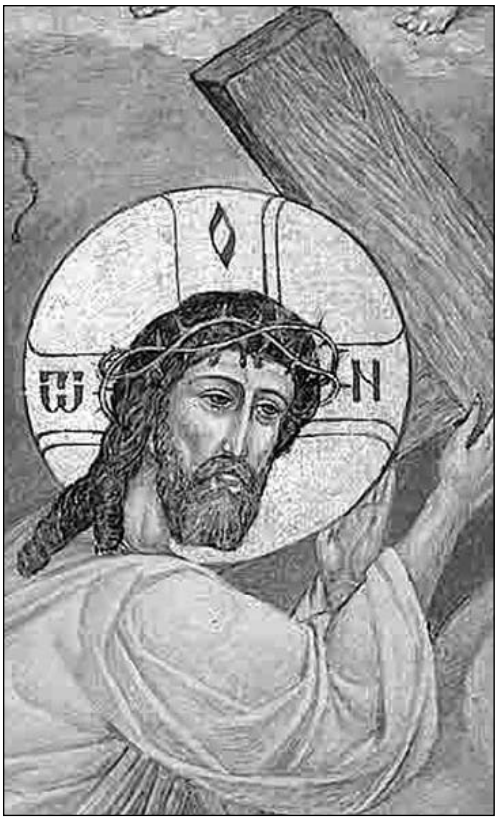
BY DR. M. RAPHAEL JOHNSON, PH.D.

Global markets demand a global ideology. The institutions of the Christian religion, local customs and national pride, given the inherent and ruthless logic of transnational capital, must give way to the pure form of the economic man: the identityless and rootless bohemian cosmopolitan incapable of finding meaning in anything else than cheap entertainments, vulgar and administered political ideology and commodity consumption. This is to reveal the ultimate gnosis of modernist politics: the completely administered existence. The inherent cosmopolitan ideology of transnational capital is one of the major causes of the rise and popularity of relativism, emotivism and subjectivism in contemporary moral thinking; such moral ideologies justify the frenzied consumption demanded by internationalized capital. That there is a sharp connection between the needs of globalized capital and the dominant morality of European societies is clearly evident. The mass man must be created and justified to match the anational and acultural character of postmodern capital. This is the fundamental problem of modernity at the dawn of the 21st century and profoundly affects politics, thought and morality . . .


Ethnic-nationalist agitation worldwide derives from a loss of social tradition—the very nature of ethnicity—brought on by post-modern capitalism.

The various ethnic groups of what was Christian Europe are faced with living in a post-revolutionary world. The moral, national, religious and ethical lives of Europe have been destroyed or rendered marginal to the life of capitalism, finance, statism, globalism and its ideological justifications: multiculturalism, urbanization, post-modernism, liberalism and a vapid, amoral individualism. The liberal and leftist political and ethical views of the elite, considered radical and "socialist" 30 years ago, are now the norm for "civilized" discourse in the year 2003. These ideologies, increasingly shrill, overwhelmingly deriving from the new revolutionary elites, presently control every social and educational institution throughout Europe and the Americas of any significance. Nationalist social praxis now has the job of providing the present infrastructure of resistance—however marginal and incoherent—with a solid ethical foundation.

Ethnic-nationalist agitation worldwide derives from a loss of social tradition—the very nature of ethnicity—brought on by



post-modern capitalism. Ethnicity codifies itself, as well as manifests itself, in the lifestyle of specific cultures. Leftist ideology can understand only quantitative values such as income, quotas or wealth distribution. For Karl Marx, free trade was a necessary means to "denationalize" peoples, preparing them for the utopia of classless and identityless people.

Quality of life, legitimate consent, and a sense of communal belonging derive, not from class status or other formal quality, but through communal tradition and the cooperation that flows from it. Nationalism's appeal has always been that, in order for any sort of civil cooperation to exist over the long term, a society must share many general qualities in common such as a language, morality, religion, ethnic composition, history, mutual suffering and future expectations. All of these, in some measure, conspire to form a sense of civic and communal solidarity that radical ideology cannot supply. Citizens here are not strangers to each other, but find their very selves in the community. This is what forms not only communal solidarity and a sense of belonging, but also engenders self-sacrifice and a strong sense of a common good. A common good, that is, that goes beyond scholastic abstractions and renders itself according to the specific norms of particular, living persons.

What this ensures, further, is that political theory, ethical philosophy, social criticism and political activism are completely interpenetrated with already existing modes of behavior and forms of life, that is, the way people have become accustomed to attend to their affairs. The study of society is infused with the day to day lives, problems and expectations of ordinary citizens, their past, their sense of identity (however damaged) and thus their moral personhood. One does not become a nationalist by reading books, nor does one become a Christian by studying Anselm's "ontological proof," but one adopts these because they are already part of the lifeblood of a society and its history; they are experienced in activity and suffering rather than contemplated in books. The traditions of any society are not primarily something studied, but something fundamentally lived. The vocabulary one uses to discuss ethical matters, in order to be intelligible, must derive from a universe of shared meanings—a living and functional civic life—not viewed as absolute imperatives divorced from practice.

Ideology has had a tendency to arise precisely when foreign institutions and ways of life force their way upon the living reality of communal practice. Capitalism and industrialism, for example, have set themselves apart from previously existing communal custom and is radically alienated from the traditions of European Christendom. Its view of mankind as an abstract producing and consuming zoo was an invasion upon the inheritance of classical ethics; what was lowest in the classical scale of value, money-making, was now the sine qua non of success, happiness and goodness. Many aristocratic houses of Europe developed a corporate interest that radically cut them off from the masses of the population whom they depended upon for their own economic privilege; decadence was not long in following, as was its unfortunate reaction: democratic and egalitarian ideology. "Tradition," in such a case, is forced to formulate itself into a "theory" of politics, which is not its essential character. As a tradition loses its vitality (from exogenous or endogenous causes), individuals, increasingly alienated from their own society, fall back on their own naked reason and begin to view social life through increasingly quantitative and formal lenses.

Capitalism, in all its forms, can understand nothing but profits and losses, marginal utility, labor productivity, abstract preferences and "rational choice." It does not understand or comprehend real individuals, cultures or civilizations. Capitalism is an abstract ideology that imposes itself upon already existing societies in all their concreteness, formalizing what was a wholistic and organic series of traditions and customs that governed modes of exchange. All that was not in its interest, such as craft guilds, anti-usury laws or protections for small landholders, was eliminated. As a result, it engendered equally abstract "critical ideologies" deriving from the destruction such alien ideas brought upon Europe. In neither case does modern ideology speak to the real and lived experiences of the society and its shared meanings and traditions. Modern politics, by contrast, speaks only to those who can manipulate the vocabulary and ideas of ideology for their own benefit.

The difference between modern ideology and the ethnonationalist way of life is that the former almost exclusively detaches itself from how people are already leading their lives. The "real world" of social life is of utterly no interest whatsoever to the modern ideologist, but such a person has for his vocabulary merely an abstract set of concepts, phrases, plans and ritual

denunciations. Whether capitalist or Marxist, anarchist or libertarian, social scientist or tenured academic hack, what matters is quantitative measures, methodological abstractions, and the absolute importance of rational designs. The only problem being that social life is not a blank slate existing solely for the imposition of the scientific theory of the moment. The gaps between current practice and social science methodology are often dismissed in American universities as "social backwardness."

The ethno-nationalist and the communitarian, as the inheritors of the classical way of life, understand that the self is created and formed by the cultural community. There never was an abstract reasoning apparatus that formed a "rational" foundation of social life. Rationality itself is the product of a slowly developing set of traditions and is nothing more, conceptually speaking, than a crystallization of an already existing mode of living. What ideology does is attempt to destroy the determinate relations among individuals and replace them with purely formal ones; the concepts and ideas generated by an already established mode of living are removed from their context and granted an absolute standing they never had. As the civic institutions of traditional societies, the public squares, inns, local town meetings, civic and philanthropic organizations, churches, traditional festivals etc, give way to the increasingly formal, distant and bureaucratic rule of the modern state apparatus, political thinking is forced to change accordingly.

Once a way of life has become degenerate and Hobbes' world takes the place of communal solidarity, losing its vitality or sense of purpose and identity, its traditions no longer compel and social order breaks down, shared moral visions, civic friendship and communal solidarity become trite sentiments. Ideology derives from the increasingly abstract and formal means whereby individuals interact. It is motivated by the idea, common to many degenerating societies, that the individual exists through and for himself, which often means that the legal system and the marketplace become the only means whereby social communication is present whatsoever. No one needs doubt the effect of industrialization on the existence of alienation, the rise of ideology and the destruction of cultural communities. No one need doubt the similar effects of globalization and the individualization of technology two centuries later.

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In Europe and the Americas, social vitality has traditionally been dependent upon the Christian faith. Its acceptance by Europe as its common defining principle meant that the local gods of the household and the village were supplanted by the single God of gods, the God of Truth. Social unity and cohesion was created out of the chaos of clans and tribes. Nations were born from this unity. Europe came to know itself as an ethical whole through this inheritance of Greco-Roman civilization. It transformed what was purely local, tribal and parochial into something to be more unified, universal and national; it created Europe.

Christianity modifies nationalism in that it does not believe that the state or *ethnos* is the highest form of earthly authority. The state is an unfortunate necessity in human life that exists to protect individuals from the impulses, passions and irrationality of fallen mankind. The nation is the direct result of human nature and the inborn necessity of communal organization and mutual aid. It is, however, not absolute. The Christian nation is subject to God and the natural law primarily, and its traditions, institutions and ways of life are good and moral only insofar as they are subject to it. Under pagan Rome, the state was divinized and service to it, as Cicero wrote, was the highest possible human calling. The Christian nationalist differs from the secular traditionalist in precisely this. For the specifically Christian brand of nationalist theory and practice, the nation is twofold; it has a double nature. First, it is a set of mundane institutions and traditions; the ways of life that are the condition of communal solidarity and civic cooperation. Secondly, the nation is the place where citizens come to understand themselves as something higher than a specific set of roles provided by the determinate ways of life of traditional society. Christianity is not something essentially amenable to codification (though this is necessary), but is something met through the day to day life of Christian believers and the structure of Christian societies.

European nations were crated through the institutions of the Christian life. In Russia, the Orthodox Church was the symbol of national independence and resistance to foreign occupation. In Ireland, it was the Catholic Church that provided the moral and intellectual backdrop for an entire nation's sense of self and political resistance to British domination. In Poland after the partitions, the Church of Rome was the only institution that maintained Polish identity when the state had been eliminated. In Ukraine, it has been—and still is—the Greek Catholic (*uniate*) Church and native Orthodoxy that provided the central organizational structure for nationalist resistance to Stalin's brutal oppression. All of the Balkans, from Greece to Bulgaria, once under Muslim occupation, were maintained as a coherent set of nations and traditions only by the Orthodox Church. In America, Spanish Catholics and Protestant Separatists created the first outposts of civilization in North America (with the Russian Orthodox arriving on the West Coast in 1724), and, although many of the American Founding Fathers were far from devout Christians, the popular presence of the various Churches ensured the existence of official sects enshrined in the colonial charters and early state constitutions.

The counterrevolution, or this mission of Christian nationalism (for lack of a better phrase), is the revivification of the idea of God's sovereignty over the nations, in all their particularity, and the central place for the church over the cultural and moral life of man. Nations are no more absolute than states. They are, however, a necessary means (and often the sole means) whereby Christian activity is crystallized and made a reality in the routine lives of the citizenry. The blessing of harvests, public processions, the anointing of kings, the dozens of feast and fast days that marked the calendar, public penance and hundreds of other institutions, all modified by local custom, are the true lifeblood of the church, or, more specifically, the Christian life, and most certainly attest to her essential sociality and public (rather than the more modern, private) nature.

Christianity can never be reduced to a set of council documents, papal statements or scriptural passages. It is a determinate way of life that becomes such by its social and national institutionalization. By separating the church from its ethnic, national and communal orientation, it becomes a set of abstract postulates, connected to no specific lifestyle whatsoever. One who advocates such a course falls into the ancient heresy of monophysitism: matter is not transformed and transfigured by the divine, as in Chalcedonian Orthodoxy, but is absorbed or discarded by it. By definition, then, the church is a political and social institution, dialoguing with the culture in which it finds itself,

creating it as well as being modified by it in turn. The life of the mundane (that is, matter) is in continuing conversation with the life of the spirit (or divinity), with a full understanding of their ultimate reciprocity and complementarity. Without such a dialogue, cut off from the tradition which gave it birth and nurtured it, the life of the spirit becomes a mere arbitrary set of whims and sentiments (such as the "new age" movement of the present day, or the Rockefeller-funded ecumenical movement), while the social life of the nation becomes subject to the tyrannical and dehumanizing demands of efficiency and utility, service and compulsion. In other words, without a social and national Christian tradition, Christianity becomes a set of abstract postulates and feelings. Without the Christian moral life, nations become absolutized; citizens become merely parts of the national body rather than real cultural beings.

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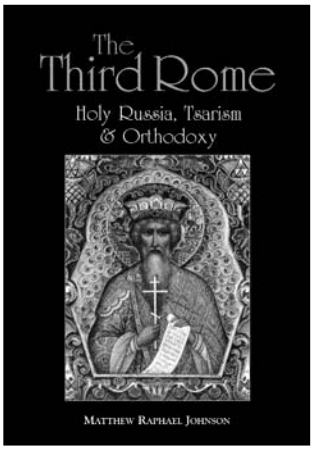
Thus, the Christian nationalist and modern counterrevolutionary understand the dual nature of social and individual life, as the two are not inimical, but are necessary to sustain each other. On the one hand, mankind is a culture-creating animal who finds his individuality made real and actual only through the complex set of relationships and traditions that compose the nation and the society. The Christian life, on the other hand, provides the view of man that he is a transcendent creature, not merely a bundle of impulses and desires. The materialist view of man reduces him to a mere subject of the state with no intrinsic value and purpose. Chalcedonian Christianity shows that man as a whole—body and soul—has been redeemed. The Christian notion of the Incarnation, found nowhere else in the world, shows man (and all of matter) as being joined with God, quite literally, through the sacraments of the Church, and thus subject to Him. Matter is not absorbed by the spirit, as in monophysitism (i.e. the erroneous doctrine that Christ possessed only one nature), or utterly separate from it, as in Nestorianism or Arianism (the equally erroneous doctrine that Christ's divinity was either radically separated from his humanity, or that it did not exist in any respect), but is transformed by the divine, maintaining its properties as before. The nation, then, is legitimate only to the extent it respects the dignity of this union and recognizes itself a part of it, for this union is strengthened through the moral tone set by social life as a whole, the attitudes and customs of the national body.

European monarchy was based on the notion that the king was responsible to God for the spiritual health of his subjects as a pastor is to his congregation.

European monarchy was based on the notion that the king was responsible to God for the spiritual health of his subjects as a pastor is to his congregation. The institution of monarchy, the literal and figurative crown of the nation, has nearly always maintained itself as a dual institution, one mundane and the other Christian. In Imperial Russia, the tsar was not only the ruler of the nation, subject to God, but also a priest (of sorts) of the church. In early medieval Europe, the king was the head of the local Church and often chose the local bishops. In the Byzantine Roman Empire, the Emperor called councils, deposed corrupt prelates and supervised the functions of the church. In turn, the bishops and abbots had a highly visible social function, to balance the king, provide moral leadership, administer the sacraments and sacralize the day to day life of the folk. Christianity as a merely "individual" and private institution did not arise until the dawning of capitalism and the centralization of the state apparatus, which, over time, made the church and her moral presence a bother. Christianity was individualized in order to make her impotent and no longer a threat to the rising class of usurers, industrialists, tyrants, bureaucrats and court politicians during the Reformation and the subsequent disaster of modernity. ❖

The Third Rome
Holy Russia, Tsarism & Orthodoxy

By Dr. M. Raphael Johnson



NEARLY ALL OF WHAT YOU HAVE HEARD about the Tsars of Russia is a lie. Academic historians, liberals and communists have been fashioning a fantasy world around Russian history for nearly 100 years, spreading slander and myths about an entire population. Few nations, rulers or peoples have been subject to such merciless attacks as the Russians have. Now, however, all of that has changed. M. Raphael Johnson, the editor of The Barnes Review, has authored *The Third Rome: Holy Russia, Tsarism and Orthodoxy*, the first book in English that sets out to defend the history of Tsarist Russia from St. Vladimir to Tsar St. Nicholas II. Far from being the "prison house of nations" as the Masonic Menshiviks termed Russia, the Third Rome was a prosperous and free society, where peasants were ruled entirely by the local elected commune and were possessed of a thriving religious and literary culture the West is only now beginning to grasp. In the English language, only *The Third Rome* provides the whole story of pre-Bolshevik Russian history, contrasting the thriving Orthodox culture with the decadence of the modern West. Quality softcover, 246 pages, $24.95 plus $3 per book S&H inside the U.S. Item #368. Now available. Order now from TBR Book Club, P.O. Box 15877, Washington, D.C. 20003. See page 80 for order form. Remember to request a TBR Book Club Catalog at the same time . . .

Fiery Father Coughlin Replies to General Hugh Johnson

A Speech by the Rev. Charles Coughlin
In Response to Establishment-Sponsored Attacks
Against Him & His Ministry

Charles Edward Coughlin, the son of third-generation Irish immigrants, was born on October 25, 1891. Rev. Coughlin took to the airwaves in 1926, broadcasting weekly sermons over the radio. After CBS told him to tone down his criticism, he set up his own network, which grew to 30 stations. Father Coughlin's program of "social justice" was a radical challenge to unbridled capitalism and to many of the institutions of his day. He warned of the dangers of the concentration of wealth. In 1935, the year this sermon was broadcast, Coughlin started a campaign to restructure the Federal Reserve System.

I AM TRULY INDEBTED TO THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING System by whom this time is contributed and to Gen. Hugh Johnson for having provided the occasion and the opportunity for me to address you. I am mindful that I am a Catholic priest whose voice is being carried into the homes of millions of persons who do not share my faith. I am thoroughly mindful that despite differences of religion, of race, of color and of profession, I am also an American citizen, privileged as such to speak to American citizens.

The economic disaster that overwhelmed our nation [the Great Depression] proved beyond question that, independent of all racial or religious differences, there was common need for Catholic, Protestant, Jew and irreligionist to solve a common problem. Together did we not enjoy a common citizenship? Together did we not rejoice in the common appellation of "American"? Together have we not worried through the dark years of this depression? Thus, when through the inevitable sequence of events, a crisis had been reached in the development of our social well being; when it became necessary to bridge the chasm that separates this day of our economic affliction from the tomorrow of our hoped for benediction, some one, irrespective of his Catholicism, or of his Protestantism, or of his Jewish faith was required to raise his voice, if for no other reason, than to condemn those who, refusing to leave this land of sorrow, obstructed our passage to the land of prosperity.

While it was and always will be impossible for me to divest myself of my Catholic priesthood, nevertheless, in accepting the dignities that my religion conferred upon me, I sacrificed in no respect the rights identified with my citizenship. It is still my prerogative to vote. It is still my privilege to be interested in good government. It is still my duty as a common citizen to engage in the common efforts for the preservation of our commonwealth as chaos clamors at our doors.

I regret sincerely that a man who once held such high office in our nation, either ignorantly or maliciously, has called into question this fundamental principle of citizenship. It has been intimated in words more forceful than mere suggestions that a priest's place is at his altar; that a priest, on becoming such, should sacrifice his privileges, his prerogatives and his rights as a democratic citizen. Thus, with the logic of a braggart, I have been challenged to divest myself of my priestly vocation, if I wish to participate in national affairs. Does our concept of Americanism instruct the teacher that his place is always in the classroom? Does it teach the lawyer that his proper place is circumscribed by the walls of his office? Does it tell the barber that his activities are limited to the tools of his trade? Does it cling to the outworn theory of the divine right of kings by which is implied that the affairs of good government and the direction of national progress must be surrendered into the hands of professional politicians?

Unfortunately this erroneous doctrine has been openly intimated by the spokesman of a group that has gained control of the democratic liberties of a free people. It is just as logical to conclude that a general must be perpetually occupied in leading troops, if a clergyman must be constantly engaged in his sacerdotal duties.

Our concept of government so far transcends the bigotry of race, of creed, of color and of profession that, through our forefathers, we refrained from writing into the Constitution of the United States any impediment to disbar any citizen from engaging in the activities of good citizenship. I am compelled to rehearse this plain truth for your consideration because a demagogic utterance, by its appeal to thoughtlessness, to religious and to professional bigotry, has questioned it. The moneychangers, whom the Priest of Priests drove from the temple of Jerusalem both by word and by physical force, have marshaled their forces behind the leadership of a chocolate soldier for the purpose of driving the priest out of public affairs.

While always a priest I address you neither as the spokesman of the Catholic Church nor as the representative of its Catholic following. I speak to you as American to American.

While always a priest I carry to you the fundamental doctrines of social justice, which are intended both for religionist and irreligionist, for black and white, for laborer and farmer for everyone who shares with me the citizenship in which I rejoice.

Therefore, away with that prostituted bigotry which, at one time, has been the poisoned rapier of errant cowards and, at another, the butcher's cleaving ax wielded to destroy a national unity.

The object of the National Union for Social Justice is to secure economic liberty for our people. So well is this truth known that the concentrators of wealth are resorting to musty methods, long since in disrepute, to preserve America for the plutocrats and to retain its quarreling, divided citizens for their own exploitation.

Our program, which is interested in restoring America to the Americans, can be accomplished peacefully only through a national solidarity. Peacefully, I say, because I believe in the Prince of Peace and dare not disregard His warning they who use the sword shall perish by it.

In the meantime, therefore, let the Tories of high finance learn from their prototype, George III. Let the unjust aggressors, who for generations have mismanaged the economic affairs of our nation, assume the entire responsibility of their own Tory stubbornness. The laborer has not sabotaged our factories. The farmer has not created a manmade scarcity of food. The 80 million crybabies, to whom Gen. Johnson referred, have not concentrated our wealth. These people, played upon by paid-for propaganda, did not hurl us into the seething maelstrom of a bloody war. These crybabies—80 million of them, so confessed—were not responsible for the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and for the destruction of small industry. They did not force 27 million hungry men and women to stand in a bread line nor, with the lash of poverty, did they drive 11 million laborers into idleness and insecurity.

"I am characterized as a revolutionary for raising my voice against these palpable injustices while the blind Bourbons cannot see the writing on the wall nor read the pages of history written in [blood]. . . ."

I am characterized as a revolutionary for raising my voice against these palpable injustices while the blind Bourbons cannot see the writing on the wall nor read the pages of history written in crimson by pens which were dipped into bleeding hearts at Concord, Lexington and Valley Forge.

In 1776 Washington and Jefferson and their compatriots had hurled at them the vile epithet of "revolutionary." Their lands had been overtaxed. Their laborers and farmers had been exploited. Their liberties had been denied. Their right to free speech and to petition had been scoffed at. They, too, were called "revolutionary."

Today, when the rights to life, to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness have been obstructed by an economic system of high finance far more vicious in its implications and results than were the unjust political aggressions of a George III, they who protest against them are classified and indexed with the patriots of 1776.

This, indeed, is a high compliment inadvertently paid by the new deal's greatest casualty, Gen. Hugh Johnson, who never faced an enemy nor successfully faced an issue.

Today he and the Wall Streeters whom he represents become distorters of history and perverters of logic as they, the unjust aggressors, garb themselves in the raiment of patriotism and cast upon those who have suffered from their misdeeds the scarlet cloak of the rebel.

For a moment I plan to pause to answer the charges and insinuations that Gen. Johnson so intemperately made against my person. First he said: "This political padre . . . may or may not now be an American citizen, but certainly once was not."

My dear General, I am as much, if not more, of an American citizen as you are or ever will be. Your parents are but one generation removed from Ireland. My paternal grandfather's bones are buried in Lackawanna, New York. My great-grandfather dulled many a pick with the pioneers who dug the Erie Canal. If you mean that I have sprung from the laboring class and chance to be born of American parents on Canadian soil, I have no apologies to make. By an Act of Congress of February 10, 1855, Sec. 1993 U.S.R.S., I was always an American citizen.

Secondly, you categorically accuse me of breaking the religious vow of poverty. The truth is, as my religious superiors will testify, I never made a vow of poverty and therefore could never break one. More than that I never belonged to any religious order although I was associated with a group of priests whose lives were dedicated to the teaching of Canadian and American students.

Thirdly, you have cleverly insinuated that I was a modern Talleyrand, who, as a Catholic cleric, was excommunicated by his church because, among other reasons, he protected the plundering Bourbons. This you did in one breath while in the next you praised the good Catholic laity. For what purpose? For none other than to turn not the Protestants nor the Jews against me but rather to confuse the people of my own faith. It is sufficient for me to say that, up to the present date, I have not been classified with a Talleyrand by those whose business it is to judge whether or not I am in good standing in the Catholic Church.

Fourthly, "compared to me Judas Iscariot is a piker"—the same Judas who betrayed his Lord and Master. It is not my province to classify myself with the 11 faithful Apostles. I am content to leave to the justice of history and to the judgment of God this decision.

What insanity possessed you to say such things? What desperation forced you to utter such exaggerations?

I remember how in 1933 Mr. Roosevelt pleaded with the people to cease their hoarding. I remember how he promised to raise the price of commodities. It was in those days that the committee in charge of the financial affairs of the Radio League of the Little Flower heeded the president's word and believed the president's promise. This committee, having more faith in Franklin D. Roosevelt than you and your kind ever placed in him, expended some of the surplus money under their care in silver contracts. As a result of this action more than $12,000 was gained for the Radio League of the Little Flower. Not one ounce of silver have I ever purchased for myself. Not one penny of gain from it have I ever made for myself. And I am the Judas Iscariot.

But you and your kind, wedded to the belief that the Baruchs are the only ones who should make gain by transacting business in commodities, have spewed your venom not upon me but upon an organization of people whose membership runs into the mil-

lions, because their legally constituted officers gained for them enough money to pay for the broadcasting activities, which are designed for the people and paid for by the people.

It is perfectly ethical for your taskmaster, Bernard Baruch, to profit by his gold and silver transactions. But it is totally unethical for the people who have been exploited by him and his group of speculators and international bankers to gather the crumbs of profit, which fall from the table of the commodity market.

To malign me you have more than insinuated that personally it was I who profited and, therefore, that I am the modern Judas Iscariot who has betrayed Jesus Christ. I rejoice that never once have I sold Jesus Christ, nor did I betray the brothers of Jesus Christ. Can you say as much?

Gen. Johnson, your enemies and, if I must say it, some of your fair-weather friends, have heaped upon my desk the fulsome record of your personal life. General, I disdain to refer to it. Need I remind you, however, that of old it was said that Christ stirred up the multitudes; that He was a winebibber, a consorter with sinners? Or need you remind me how the Master crowned with the thorns, which were woven by the fingers of the moneychangers, nailed to the cross by the spikes that were forged in the furnace of hatred, said: "Father forgive them for they know not what they do." Dare I claim title to Christianity, General, and forget that prayer?

My dear Gen. Johnson, I am not important nor are you. But the doctrines which I preach are important. While you were content to vomit your venom upon my person and against my character the American public is fully cognizant that not once did you dare attack the truths which I teach. I need not condemn you before the court of public opinion. You have condemned yourself. More than that, you have appeared before a jury of 80 million people—your own figures, General—who, through your lack of Christian charity and justice, are today prejudiced against you. These "crybabies" whose tears have welled to their eyes because you and your kind have lashed them at the pillar of poverty; these brothers and sisters of Christ whom you and your masters have crowned with the thorns of worry and insecurity; these sterling American citizens whom you first fastened to the cross of hunger and nakedness and then pierced their hearts with the spear of exploitation—these inarticulate people for whom I speak will never forget you and your Wall Streeters.

These people, so you have intimated, are rats being led by a Pied Piper. Must that be the metaphor that you employ to describe the wreckage that your kind has created?

My friends, I appeal to your charity, to your good judgment, to your sense of social justice to bear no ill will against Gen. Johnson. Your intelligence informs you that he is but a faithful, obedient servant willing to express in his own grotesque manner the thoughts which are harbored in the mind of his master. Today he appears before us as a figure to be pitied and not condemned. He has been cast out by an administration because he and his plans were failures. Thus, as he appears before you on future occasions, remember that he is to be regarded as a cracked gramophone record squawking the messages of his master's voice.

My dear General, if I am constrained from indicting your person, it is simply because you are the first great casualty of the New Deal experimentation. Whether you know it or not, you are but a political corpse whose ghost has returned to haunt us.

The General 'Launches a Strike' Against Huey Long, Fr. Coughlin

Gen. Hugh Johnson (above) was active in the America First Committee (AFC, 1940-41). In its statement of principles, the AFC declared that it stood for "an impregnable defense" and believed "American Democracy can best be preserved only by keeping out of the European war." It was open to all except "nazists [sic], fascists, communists or members of other groups that place the interests of any other nation above those of our own country." Supporters rallied from across America: Murray Kempton, Gore Vidal, Sinclair Lewis, World War I ace Eddie Rickenbacker, Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of *Nation* and *New Republic* muckraker John T. Flynn. Gen. Robert Wood, head of Sears Roebuck, chaired America First. On its National Committee were Johnson, Alice Roosevelt and other prominent Americans. Motivating the AFC was a belief that World War I had been a calamity and must never be repeated. Johnson was also prominent in the National Recovery Administration (NRA), an agency designed under the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt (off to the right of Johnson above) to organize the stabilization and revival of the nation's economy. Under NRA supervision, each sector of the economy was to develop an industry-wide code, setting standards for production, prices and wages. These codes would have the force of law and would be exempt from antitrust provisions. The program received general support at first. Labor pinned its hopes on Section 7, which required that each code specify maximum hours, minimum wages, safe working conditions and workers' right to organize. The program director, Gen. Hugh Johnson, launched the NRA with a dramatic publicity campaign, and by September codes had been developed by most major industries. Criticism grew as it became clear that the largest firms were shaping the codes to suit their own priorities, with little input from labor, consumers or the government. During 1934 the NRA underwent several reorganizations. In September, Johnson was forced to resign but remained a Roosevelt supporter. In March 1935 he delivered an unexpected attack on the plans of Huey Long and Father Coughlin. That speech set off a firestorm of debate about the merits of the two plans and was the first time the pro-Roosevelt forces had dared to take on Long and Coughlin.

Although I believe that your unquiet spirit will not rest in peace, nevertheless, I still believe in that ethical axiom—"*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*"—"Of the dead let us speak kindly." When real soldiers come forth to fight, having facts for targets and truths for ammunition, I shall oppose them with the most forceful weapons which my wits command, but never shall I adopt dishonest tactics or dishonest warfare or be accused of fighting a ghost. I shall draw my reasons from that school of militancy presided over by Jesus Christ, Who, 1,900 years ago, refrained not from attacking in scathing terms the scribes and Pharisees. "Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because you devour the horses of widows, praying long prayers. For this you shall receive the greater judgment. For you bind heavy and insupportable burdens and lay them on men's shoulders; but with a finger of your own you will not move them."

Yes, Gen. Johnson, Christ, for having made that statement, is accused of stirring class against class by the Voltaires, the Rousseaus, the Louis XVIs, the atheists and the pussyfooters of all times. But there are times when certain classes must be forcefully reminded that there is such a thing as Christian charity which bids us love our neighbors as ourselves, and which warns us that whatsoever we do even to the least, we do to Christ. That is what the Pharisees refused to learn. That is what their descendants in Wall Street refuse to accept as they continue to devour the houses of widows and tax our citizenry into slavery and idleness.

Remembering the method of attack employed by Christ's precursor, John the Baptist, I will dare confront the Herods by name and by fact even though my head be served on a golden platter; even though my body be sawed in twain as was that of the prophet Isaiah for having scorned into disrepute a prince by the name of Manasses.

Today there is another Manasses, your lord and master, General Johnson. I refer to Bernard Manasses Baruch, whose full name has seldom been mentioned but which name from this day forth shall not be forgotten in America. This was the name which his parents gave him, the name Manasses. This is the name, Gen. Johnson, of your prince of high finance. Him with the Rothschilds in Europe, the Lazzards in France, the Warburgs, the Kuhn-Loebs, the Morgans and the rest of that wrecking crew of internationalists whose god is gold and whose emblem is the red shield of exploitation—these men I shall oppose until my dying days even though the Bernard Manasses Baruchs of Wall Street are successful in doing to me what the prince, after whom he was named, accomplished in doing to Isaiah. I am well apprised of the fact that your own vociferous volubility, which you characterized last Monday night as "howling," is but the opening gun in a well-organized attack against me. I fear it not because I am protected by the moral support of the "crybabies" and the "rats" whom you have forced into the ranks of the National Union for Social Justice. Therefore, I shall doubly bend my efforts to the task of handing back America to the Americans and of rescuing our beloved country from the hands of the Baruchs, your masters.

There are two remaining charges which you made against me. I rejoice in this opportunity to answer them. The first respects money. You said that my plan is "to make money out of nothing, which would therefore make it worth nothing." At least you admit that I have a plan. I need not inform this audience that since 1930 and long before then I had a plan to establish social justice. Long before you or the financial puppet-masters, who are expert in manipulating the strings of Punch-and-Judy oratory, became prominent in the desperate struggle for economic independence, I was associated with pioneers who were protesting against the profitless labor of our farmers and against the slavery of modern mass productionism.

Where were you in 1930 and 1931 while we were advocating a new deal on Sundays and feeding thousands in the bread line on Mondays, made necessary by the cold-blooded individualism of an ancient economic system to which you belong?

Where were you in 1932 when our same group was advocating the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the birth of a new deal long before Franklin Roosevelt was even nominated for the presidency?

Where were you in 1933 and 1934 when our beloved leader, consecrated to drive the moneychangers out of the temple, was hampered and impeded by your master, Bernard Manasses Baruch, the acting president of the United States, the uncrowned prince of Wall Street?

I say this in no disparagement because everyone appreciates that you are nothing more than his man Friday. With Bernard Manasses Baruch's plan in your pocket to regiment industry, to destroy competition, to institute a wage system designated to share poverty, to create monopolies and eliminate small industries—you strutted upon the stage of this depression like a comic-opera creampuff general. You organized a comic-opera parade on the streets of New York.

Why, General, before your name and your under-slung vocabulary became household words in this nation these pioneer associates of mine had been fighting in the front trenches against the enemies of the New Deal, bearing its heaviest burdens and carrying its heaviest crosses.

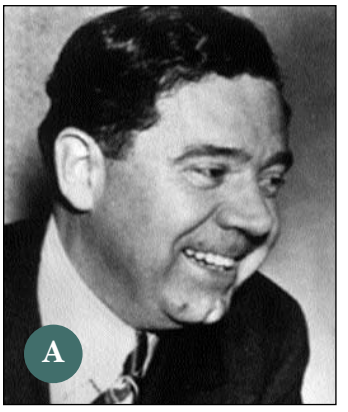
And now you accuse me of planning to make money out of nothing. But let us become more specific on that point. The man who put this thought into your mouth is nothing but a thief yelling "Stop, thief." Bear with me, General, as I refresh the memories of this audience on the nature of money and how it is man-

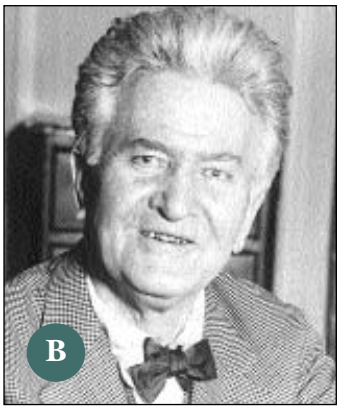
Five Speeches of the America First Committee

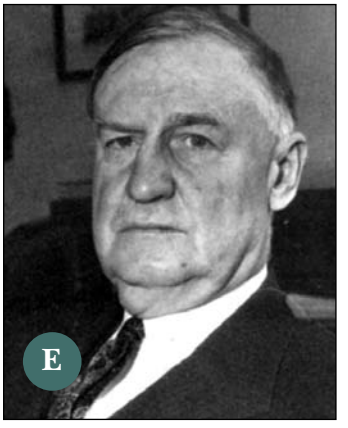
Here is a compilation of five addresses delivered on behalf of the America First Committee prior to the advent of U.S. intervention in the war in Europe (1939-1945). This booklet contains speeches by:

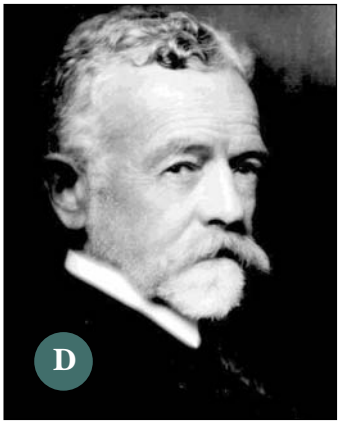
- Gen. Hugh S. Johnson (Sept. 5, 1940)
- Sen. Robert LaFollette Jr. (Sept. 11, 1940)
- Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge (Sept. 25, 1940)
- Gen. Robert E. Wood (October 4, 1940)
- Col. Charles A. Lindbergh (April 23, 1941)

Defend America First, 50-page pamphlet: One copy is $10; 3 copies for $12; 5 or more $3 each. Send payment to THE BARNES REVIEW, P.O. Box 15877, Washington, D.C. 20003. Call 1-877-773-9077 to charge to Visa or MasterCard. S&H included. Make great handouts.









America Firsters . . .

A gallery of America-Firsters. *Radio speaker and politician Huey Long (A) believed that, as the Bible says, periodically there should be a release of debts and a return of possessions to every man. Robert LaFollette (B) opposed World War I. The America First Committee (AFC) became a national organization in 1940. Gen. Robert E. Wood (E), chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck, became the national cochairman of America First. Although not a founder of AFC nor a member of the Executive Committee, Charles Lindbergh (C), the famous aviator, was their most popular speaker. Henry Cabot Lodge (D) was an America Firster and is best remembered for spearheading Senate blockage of United States membership in the League of Nations.*

ufactured out of nothing by your masters.

1. As you confess, money is merely the medium of trade. It is not wealth. It is only the transportation system, as it were, by which wealth is carried from one person to another.

2. For more than 100 years the people of this nation have permitted a small group of men to possess the privilege of making money, and thereby, of controlling the flow of wealth. Many of us began to believe that money was the real wealth instead of the truck, as it were, whose only reason for existence is to carry the precious freight of food, of clothing, of shelter, of human beings and their labor from one point to another— from the producer to the consumer. There are many kinds of transportation, such as the railway, the truck, the steamboat. There are three kinds of capitalistic money all monopolized for use by the banker—metal, paper currency and credit. In round figures there are $9 billion of idle metal in the Treasury, $5 billion of paper currency throughout the nation and at least $250 billion of credit or of debt money such as mortgages, loans, bonds etc. Credit money or check money is really the major portion of all our money by 90 percent. Credit money is checkbook money.

3. How is this checkbook money created in this nation? First, a group of wealthy men petition the government for a bank charter, or, in other words, for the right to counterfeit legally.

4. These men deposit, for example, $100,000 with the Treasury. In return, the Treasury gives them $100,000 worth of interest-bearing bonds which are kept at Washington as security. But the interest accumulating on the bonds belongs to these new bankers.

5. These men return to their home town after they have the Government print for them, at scarcely no cost, $100,000 worth of paper dollars which they deposit in their new bank.

6. John Smith comes to these bankers for a loan of $10,000, which he obtains at 6 percent on depositing as security the deed for his $20,000 farm.

7. Then the banker gives John a check book—no actual cash, mind you—and immediately writes on his own books that $10,000 has been deposited, whereas in truth it was simply loaned.

8. Fifty, 80, 100 John Smiths go through the same process until the bank, which started with only $100,000 of printed money, has loaned $1 million at 6 percent. That was their rule, to lend 10 times what they actually had. Therefore, the first year in business grossed the bank $60,000 interest profit on an investment of $100,000 which all this time was bearing interest for them through the bonds which they deposited originally at Washington at four percent.

9. Of course, Jim Jones and 1,000 other neighbors of Jones placed their savings in the town bank. They thought that this money was safe and that the bank would surrender it on demand. But Jim did not read the fine print in his bank book. Had he done

so, he would have discovered that he had actually loaned his money to the bankers; that he had become a creditor and, therefore, had to take his chance of getting his money back with all the other creditors and patrons of the bank.

10. Meanwhile, from the bankers' bank, the Federal Reserve Bank, word went out that too much money had been loaned by their fellow bankers. It was time to call in the loans. It was time to cut down on credit. Thus Henry Doe, the manufacturer, John Smith, the farmer and Peter Adams, the merchant, all of whom borrowed from the bank, were ordered to pay back in currency money, mind you, what they obtained in checkbook money. Simultaneously this happened all over the nation. Ten, 20, 30 billion dollars of loans were called. There were only $5 billion of currency money in existence. It was an impossible situation. Therefore, a depression arose. The deeds and mortgages were claimed by the bankers and homes and farms and industries were confiscated by him because there was no currency money.

11. Did the banker close up shop? He did not. At least the big bankers did not. They liquidated the homes and farms and industries they confiscated when the borrowers had no currency money to save them. They sold them for what they could on a depressed market. Then they turned around with this new fresh currency money and bought government bonds at four percent or less.

12. Meanwhile, bread lines were established. Unemployment was rife. Poverty stalked through the nation. Of necessity the government must obtain money to feed the poor and must undertake public work to salvage the unemployed. Therefore, it borrowed $8 billion from the bankers, who, playing their game even in the face of national distress, loaned the government a fat check book and, perhaps, for good measure, a bottle of ink and a fountain pen. Still there were only $5 billion of actual currency in the nation. But, through a banker's magic and a gambler's instinct, they loaned the $8 billion because they knew that in 18 years hence, $6 billion in interest would be returned by the government for the privilege of using a banker's check book—$14 billion in all.

There, General, is the true story of how money is made out of nothing. Can you or any Wall Streeter controvert this?

To this process of manufacturing money I have been opposed simply because our Constitution says that it is the right of Congress to coin and regulate the value of money. In the year 1694 this right still belonged to the British people and to their Parliament but, when threatened by invasion, the merchants and goldsmiths of London forced Parliament to surrender this right to them. This was the price of their patriotism. This was the birthday of the privately owned Bank of England.

During the days of our Civil War, when Abraham Lincoln was engaged in realizing a dream that was born in the crib of Bethlehem, he needed gold to purchase arms and ammunition. In that day the international bankers were willing to loan gold to Lincoln on the one condition that he would abrogate and cancel Article I, Section VIII, Clause V of our Constitution, which says Congress has the right to coin and regulate the value of money. This right they themselves coveted; this right they themselves demanded.

From that day forward until 1913 when the Federal Reserve banking system was created—a system owned by a group of your masters and not by the American people, as many in this audience formerly believed—from that day forward the economic destinies of our country have been controlled by these private central bankers who extended and contracted credit at will.

Because I have, in season and out of season, demanded that we Americans go back to the Constitution and restore to Congress its right and duty to coin and regulate the value of money, you have assailed me, and in doing so have stultified yourself.

When did I ever propose to make money out of nothing? I have pointed to $9 billion of idle gold and silver, sterilized in the vaults of our Treasury. I have questioned time after time the wisdom on the part of our government running to the Federal Reserve Bank for dollars created out of nothing, borrowing this manufactured money for relief purposes, for public works activities, with the understanding that the bankers would be repaid

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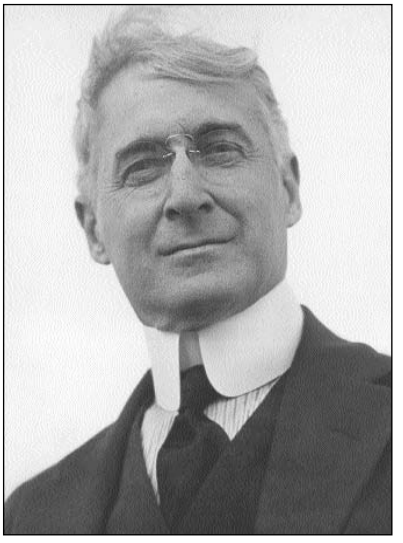
either with good currency, at interest, or else the security of the United States could be confiscated by them.

I have advocated that the government employ this idle gold and silver instead of building up unpayable debts to be shouldered by the unborn children of future generations. You and your group have been the inflationists, the makers of money out of nothing. But mindful of the Federal Reserve Act, which was passed in 1913 and which permits two currency dollars to be printed against each gold dollar; mindful that we have only five billion paper dollars in the country and over $9 billion of gold and silver in the Treasury, I have asked and I still ask why we do not employ it for the welfare of the American people instead of utilizing the bankers' manufactured money for the welfare of the Warburgs, the Rothschilds, the Kuhn-Loebs, the Morgans and your own master, Bernard Manasses Baruch.



BERNARD BARUCH

Only yesterday afternoon I asked that same question. And this morning, to the gratification of every patriotic American, Franklin D. Roosevelt has made the initial step in our direction. Today he has given the answer to you and your false charge by ordering the use of approximately $650 million of that idle gold and silver, thereby giving his benediction to the principles for which I have fought for more than three years.

The few minutes which remain at my command I shall devote to your last set of charges which I need not rehearse. My record is clear in that neither you nor Bernard Manasses Baruch can justify any statement to the effect that the National Union for Social Justice or that I, its president, are allied with Republican or Democrat, with Catholic or Protestant or with any other individual or group of individuals. The principles which I have enunciated and the principles upheld by other organizations are ample proof to substantiate this statement. My dear General, you have gone on record as categorically stating that, ever since the exposition of the silver list, I have been opposed to Franklin D. Roosevelt, our elected president. An entire nation knows that this statement is palpably untrue.

Who originated the slogan of "Roosevelt or Ruin"?

Who repeated it again this year? When only last January the president's magnificent message was read to Congress, did not your master's associates condemn it, while openly and nationally I advocated its support?

The real enemies who are boring from within have been you and your group of Wall Streeters, of international bankers.

Who have been the president's advisers over a period of two years? Not the farmer or the laborer, not the National Union for Social Justice, not his close and disinterested friends. Surely they were not responsible for 11 million men who are still unemployed, for 22 million persons who are still in the bread lines, for our national debt which has risen to the unscalable heights of $34 billion. If our people are growing disheartened, it is not because they have lost faith in Franklin D. Roosevelt, but because they are rising in their wrath against you and your group who have surrounded him.

It was Bernard Manasses Baruch and the international bankers who whispered into his perturbed ears the philosophy of destruction, the philosophy of social reforms and policies, all of which have prevented a magnificent leader like Roosevelt from rescuing a nation still bound to the rock of depression by the chains of economic slavery? Did they not, in season and out of season, obstruct our president from driving the moneychangers from the temple? Did not your master, the acting president of the United States, actually sit in at the gold plate banquet of the Supreme Court before the gold clause decision?

My friends in this audience, I still proclaim to you that it is either "Roosevelt or Ruin." I support him today and will support him tomorrow because we are neither going back to the individualism of the past nor are we going forward to the communism of the future. But I am not that type of false friend who, mangling the very meaning of the word friendship, praise policies like the National Recovery Act when criticism is required or betray my millions of supporters throughout this nation by preaching to them the prostituted slogan of "'Peace, Peace,' when there is no peace."

The fantastic fusillade of false charges which the genial general of generalities, the kind chocolate soldier, and the sweet prince of bombast so engagingly publicized, certainly were not potent enough to arouse my wrath. More important things must be accomplished. I dare not be diverted from my course by a red herring, even though it chances to be a dead one.

America's destiny is in the process of fulfillment. The ancient world set aside the bondage of physical freedom. Throughout the middle centuries, civilization struggled to disentangle itself from an agrarian serfdom which prevented men from owning their own homes or farms. In later days, in the spirit of the Magna Carta, there was lifted aloft the first standard for political freedom. Physical, agrarian, political—these freedoms has the world obtained. But, as the finger of Providence weaves on the wall of time the fabric of this life's story, there is still another golden thread that must be spun from north to south, from east to west—the golden thread of economic liberty and financial freedom. Palestine has given us our religion—our faith and hope and charity. Greece has bestowed upon us her culture. From the Tiber's banks at Rome came law and order. It was left to England and Spain, and especially to the Nordic nations, to teach the world the story of commerce and carry across the seven seas the glory that they inherited.

What part must America play? There is only one. We, the great creditor nation of this world, who today control its gold, are in a position to strike the first and telling blow for economic freedom, for financial independence. This shall be our contribution. As long as there is a God in heaven and power within my soul I will stand out first and foremost to lead in driving the moneychangers from the temple. This is the destiny of Columbia. This will be her contribution to civilization. To this task I invite you to dedicate your lives. ❖

From "A Series of Lectures on Social Justice," by Rev. Chas. E. Coughlin, Radio League of the Little Flower, Royal Oak, Michigan, March 11, 1935.

Rare Items from a Different Viewpoint . . .

German Fighter Aces of WWII . . .

Fighter Aces of the Luftwaffe, by Col. Raymond F. Tolliver and Trevor G. Constable—The greatest flying aces of the Luftwaffe come to life in this heavily detailed and documented over-sized coffee table book. Contains sections on every fighter ace, their histories and kills. Also includes a section on the Luftwaffe's attempts to perfect the jet and the German rocket program. Lavish illustrations. Size 8.5" x 11." Detailed information. Deluxe edition. **#16**, hardback, 330 pgs., *$50.*

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Fighter General: The Life of Adolf Galland, by Col. Raymond Tolliver and Trevor J. Constable. This is the official biography of one of the most dramatic and, later into the war, controversial personalities within the Luftwaffe. Promoted at 29 to general, Galland's battles against the Allies are no less dramatic than his head-on battles with Hitler and Goering. Made head of the fighter pilots, Galland had to survive a maze of conflicts with the bureaucracy. Blamed for the defeat of the Luftwaffe, only Hitler's intervention saved him from suicide. He survived the war, and made many public appearances. More than 140 photos. Richly illustrated. **#134**, hardback, 216 pgs., *$45.*

Leni & the 1936 Olympics . . .

Olympiad: Festival of the People, Germany 1938—A Leni Riefenstahl production of the documentary of the 1936 Berlin Olympic games, the greatest sports documentary ever produced. One cannot understand the 1936 Olympic games until they have seen this film and its companion. VHS video, #148, ***Part I***, 111 minutes, ***$29.95. Olympiad, Part II***—VHS video, **#160**, 90 minutes, ***$29.95.***

The Wonderful, Horrible Life of Leni Riefenstahl. The title of this newly-offered video is quite misleading. Leni, 90 years old when she collaborated with the film makers, had a wonderful life until 1945. After the war she was persecuted, prosecuted and damned in general by the media. Because she had made top-quality, stirring documentaries in Germany at the request of Hitler, she became a pariah later. The video shows us that she is still a feisty, opinionated woman today. We learn of her life from her early years as an actress, who then discovers her true talent to be the work behind the camera. It is a compelling tale, much information that is new, a historic record of a woman's life, the best female movie director in the world. German language, English subtitles and narrator. **#237**, two tapes, 180 minutes, ***$39.95.***

Nemesis at Potsdam

By Alfred de Zayas. The author gives a revealing account of the horrifying expulsion of 15 million German-speaking men, women and children from East Central Europe in the months after the end of WWII. Millions died during that expulsion. The story of that atrocity is now virtually unknown in the English-speaking world. No understanding of modern Europe will be complete without the knowledge of this ghastly period. Over 70 photos and maps. **#116**, softcover, 352 pages, ***$19.95.***

Roosevelt's Secret War: FDR & WWII Espionage

By Joseph E. Persico. Every year, new books appear dealing with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. We recommend this one, although by an establishment historian, because of insides and nuances of Roosevelt's duplicity toward the American people and even those who supported him here and abroad. He was an unabashed anti-Semite, and so was his wife, until it became politically dangerous to be so. Great read; lots of good information from a rare perspective. **#329**, hardcover, 564 pgs., *$35.*

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Harsh Facts

Our people must disseminate these facts:

a. America has been under martial law since Lincoln's administration.

b. The Pledge of Allegiance is no longer applicable. In 1871, the republic was changed to a federal corporation. The pledge only refers to a republic, thus it no longer applies.

c. In 1933, the U.S. took bankruptcy to the international bankers. A direct result of the Federal Reserve bank and interest bearing currency with no backing.

d. The IRS is a Puerto Rican Trust, and was never legislated by House or Senate.

e. In 1938, the judicial system was changed, the Supreme Court altered it from "Law" to "Policy," and the maritime courts had the uniform commercial code applied above common law.

f. The only state left as a republic is Nevada.

G.E. Strawbridge
Atwater, California

Bush Told Truth

It is rumored among highly placed sources in Washington that Bush told the truth in a speech recently. This is such an egregious departure from standard procedure that there is already a call for the appointment of a special prosecutor to investigate the allegations.

That the president himself would set such a dangerous precedent is particularly disturbing since high ranking Republicans might be led to emulate him. It might also become possible for Democrats to also tell the truth.

Consider the consequences: what would happen if Bush admitted that the real purpose in the Iraq war was to make billions off Iraq oil and satisfy his Zionist masters? Consider the repercussions if Bill Clinton admitted he was a drug addict! This would be the end of politics as we know it. This sort of thing would lead to a slippery slope that might form an educated public. We need to nip this in the bud, and I call upon The Barnes Review to expose this conspiracy forthwith!

Dana Walker
Lompoc, California

Stonehenge Carvings from Brittany?

Recently TBR had an article on the carvings at Stonehenge. Readers may be interested to know that Stone 53 (one of the central trilithons) contains at least 14 ax carvings, as well as a bronze-age dagger and some more recent graffiti. Stone 4, from the eastern side of the outer circle, has an abundance of ax carvings. The distinctive dagger, the first carving at Stonehenge to be definitely recognized as such by modern scientists, appeared to be Mykenaean in design. Prof. Richard Atkinson positively identified the dagger carving on July 10, 1953, at 5 p.m. (Some of the carvings had been tentatively identified in 1924.) Atkinson developed an elaborate thesis linking Stonehenge with the eastern Mediterranean and hoped to show that a Mykenaean prince was buried in Silbury Hill. However, with the advancement of science and the knowledge of dating methods, it was determined that the carvings are far older than the Mykenaean civilization, and therefore cannot be derived from it. (My source for this is *Stonehenge Revealed*, by David Souden, who is the official caretaker at Stonehenge.) One must wonder if the Mykenaeans might have gotten some aspects of their culture from the Stonehenge people.

I am fascinated to read in TBR about the faces identified as having been carved into the stones. The ones you wrote about were quite convincing, although I have been exposed to many other "Stonehenge faces" that are highly debatable at best.

These carvings are seen by some, particularly Aubrey Burl, as evidence that Stonehenge was built by people originating from Brittany, where, especially in the area around Morbihan, there are not only huge megalithic creations, but also many more examples of carvings such as these upon the stones—a situation that is not characteristic of other sites in Britain. There was much coming and going across the channel from the earliest times. However, it must be said that Stonehenge is unlike any comparable Breton structure, and is younger than many of the most important ones.

Christopher Schuyler
New York City

Commentary: Why Am I a Revisionist?

Every once in a while, I am asked what a "Revisionist" is. I usually answer that a "Revisionist" is a professional historian.

If that answer sounds strange, it is the only one that makes any sense. Anyone who wishes to write a work of history is only doing so either because he is saying something new, that few know, or that he is challenging widely held opinions about a subject. In other words, all history is Revisionist in order to be worthy of being written.

It has reached a point where many claim that "Revisionism" is somehow inextricably linked to the Jewish holocaust during World War II. Of course, this is silly.

Nearly every liberal, Marxist, conservative or nationalist has believed that history is mistaught and just plain wrong. They have all tried to rewrite history according to their specific ideological notions. In other words, they are all Revisionist. Liberals write history to prove that history is little more than the gradual unfolding of economic or political freedom, where "shackles" of tradition are lifted by "enlightened" persons, thereby leading to a more humane, liberal and "free" world. Marxists, of course, write history solely to show that all historical change has been economic in origin, leading to new class structures as technology develops. Many who call themselves nationalists (such as TBR's editor) refer to history as the chronicling of the development of the minds of the globe's different peoples. In other words, the only real history is one that attempts to think in the mind of the ethnic group one is studying, and to understand events as resulting from the clashes of ethnic groups, religions and languages.

All of these approaches are Revisionist in that they are all trying to establish the historical credentials of their ideological position, bringing to light heretofore unknown events and personalities that have lead to the "inevitable rise of _____ism."

For us, history is no different. History as it is taught in American public school is what one might call "liberal historicist." Everything is "inevitably" leading to "democracy," "equality" and "liberty."

NO ONE WORRIES

Drivel. No one worries about "Revisionist history" unless one disagrees with the dominant moral and ideological theories of the age. Nationalists are Revisionists because we believe that individuals are products of the historical experience of the peoples who raised and nurtured them. There is no such thing as a moral abstraction. "Liberty" means a freedom to do something, and, unless one informs me about specifically what one wants to do with this all encompassing liberty and why it is worth doing, I will remain unimpressed with C-SPAN podium thumping. Ethnicity is the basis of history because history is the struggle for survival among languages, religions and races. Ethnicity (the compound of those things) is the protective coating individuals have so as to contribute to their communities, lives and families. It is the basis for all socially useful action. Therefore, to render history as the "inevitable evolution to 'democracy'" is a useless abstraction. It tells us nothing about people, their motives or their sense of selfhood. Of course, without that, any action whatsoever makes no sense. Action must have a context, and that context is culture.

"History" is not "inevitably evolving to democracy." And this is why I am a Revisionist.

—M. Raphael Johnson, TBR Editor

Fans greet Adolf Hitler as he arrives at the Berlin Olympic Stadium to give one of his spellbinding speeches to more than 132,000 people. The neo-classical stadium, designed by Werner March, was completed in 1936, in time for the Olympic games, and became a favorite spot for the presentation of the German leader's speeches. Never using a ghost-writer, he would take the stage, stand to attention, and wait until there was complete silence before he began to speak, often discussing the injustices that he believed had been done to Germany.

A Speech by the German Chancellor

BY ADOLF HITLER

Delivered at the Berlin Sports Palace on January 30, 1941

The history and basic ideology of German National Socialism has been lied about, distorted and vitiated not only by hack academics and pseudo-intellectuals, but also by rightists, nationalists and many who call themselves "national socialists" or "neo-Nazis" today. Hitler's views on international politics and the concrete needs of the German state after the horrors of World War I can be summarized in this following speech. This is a speech that can only be called foundational, for it is an apologetics of sorts; an attempt to explain to the German nation the nature of Hitler's decisions, his basic essential views on world politics and, importantly, the weaknesses and increasing viciousness of the "western liberal democracies." This speech was recorded by the Monitoring Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation, and is courtesy of the Research Project for Totalitarian Communication, New School for Social Research.

My German countrymen! Changes of government have occurred frequently in history, and in the history of our people. It is certain, however, that never was a change of government attended with such far-reaching results as that of eight years ago. At that time the situation of the Reich was desperate. We were called upon to take over the leadership of the nation at a moment when it did not seem to develop toward a great rise. We were given power in circumstances of the greatest conceivable pressure, the pressure of the knowledge that, by itself, everything was lost, and that, in the eyes of the noblest minds, this represented a last attempt, while in the eyes of evil-wishers it should condemn the National Socialist movement to final failure.

Unless the German nation could be saved, by a miracle, the situation was bound to end in disaster. For during a period of 15 years, events had moved downward without respite. On the other hand, this situation was only the result of the world war: of the outcome of the world war, of our own internal, political, moral, and military collapse. For these reasons it is particularly important on a day like this to think back to the course of that entire national misfortune.

What was the cause of the world war? I do not want to explain it from the personal aspect, about which so many treatises have been written. Ordered by the present President Roosevelt, American scholars have investigated the cause of the world war and made sure that there was no sole German guilt. In moments of so great importance in contemporary history, individuals can play a significant part only if they enter the scene as really outstanding personalities. This was not then the case. Neither on the German nor on the other side were there personalities cast in an unusual mold.

The cause, therefore, could not be due to the failure or to the will of individuals. The reasons went deeper. The German form of government, certainly, could not have been the cause of that war, for Germany was a democracy already—and what a democracy. Strictly copied from the western countries, it was compromise between monarchy and parliamentary leadership. On account of its form of government, then, this state could certainly not be the cause of the war waged by the democracies against the Reich as it was then.

Germany, considered as a political factor in the world, was much more of a cause, for after centuries of disruption and ensuing weakness, the German tribes and states had at last combined into a new state which naturally introduced a new element into the so-called balance of power, an element which was regarded as an alien body by others. Even more potent, perhaps, was dislike of the Reich as an economic factor. After Germany had tried for centuries to remedy her economic distress by letting people grad-

ually starve or forcing them to emigrate, the increasing consolidation of the political power of the Reich gave rise to a development of economic power.

Here we come to the state which regarded this encroachment as intolerable: England. Three hundred years earlier England had gradually built her empire, not perhaps through the free will or the unanimous demonstrations of those affected, but for 300 years this world empire was welded together solely by force. War followed war. One nation after another was robbed of its freedom—one state after another was shattered—so that the structure that calls itself the British empire might arise.

Democracy was nothing but a mask covering subjugation and the oppression of nations and individuals. This state cannot allow its members to vote if today, after they have been worked upon for centuries, they should freely choose to be members of this commonwealth. On the contrary, Egyptian nationalists and Indian nationalists in their thousands are filling their prisons. Concentration camps were not invented in Germany; it is the English who were the ingenious inventors of this idea. By these means they contrived to break the backbone of other nations, to remove their resistance, to wear them down, and make them prepared at last to submit to this British yoke of democracy.

In this process, a formidable weapon was that of lying—that is, of propaganda. A proverb says that if the Englishman speaks of "God," he means "cotton." And so it is today. Considering how pious and religious are the outward gestures of men who deliberately, and with a cold heart, drive nation after nation into a struggle serving only their material interests, one is compelled to state that rarely has human hypocrisy reached such a pitch as that of the English today. At any rate, at the end of the blood-stained path of British history over three centuries, stands the fact that 46 million Englishmen in the mother country are ruling about a quarter of the globe.

Concentration camps were not invented in Germany; it is the English who were the ingenious inventors of this idea. By these means they contrived to break the backbone of other nations,

This means that there are 46 million men for about 40 million square kilometers. It is important, my countrymen, to shout this to the world again and again, for they are brazen democratic liars who assert that the so-called authoritarian states are out to conquer the world, while in fact, the conquerors of the world are our old enemies. The British world empire has left behind an icy stream of blood and tears in the path of its creation. It rules today, undoubtedly, a tremendous section of the globe. But this world government is affected not by the power of an idea, but essentially by force, and where force does not suffice, by the power of capitalist or economic interests.

Bearing in mind the history of the British empire, we can understand the process itself only as a result of the complete absence of the European continent as an entity in face of this development, particularly by the absence of the German Reich. For 300 years, Germany was practically nonexistent. While the British talked of God without losing sight of their economic interests, the German nation, overstrained to the limit, raised religious problems to such importance that bloody wars, lasting for centuries, ensued. This was one of the conditions which made the formation of the British empire possible, for in the same measure with which the German nation spent its strength internally, it was eliminated as a power internationally, and in the same measure England could, undisturbed, build her empire through robbery.

Not only was Germany practically eliminated from competition on this globe during those three centuries; the same holds for Italy, where there were similar phenomena as in Germany, but of a political and dynastic rather than a religious nature. For other reasons again, another great nation in east Asia was eliminated, which also for nearly four centuries had gradually withdrawn from the rest of the world, and ceasing to regard its own living space as vital plunged into voluntary solitude.

In this way a system arose, particularly in Europe, which England called the balance of power, which means, in fact, disorganization of the European continent in favor of the British Isles. For this reason it was for centuries the aim of British policy to maintain this disorganization, not under the name of "disorganization" of course, but with a better sounding name. Just as they do not speak of cotton, but say "God," they do not speak of the disorganization of Europe but of the "balance of power." And this so-called balance of power, that is, the real internal impotence of Europe, enabled England again and again to play one state against another, so keeping the forces of Europe involved in internal struggle. Thus England could thrust forward undisturbed into other areas offering comparatively little resistance.

And yet to speak today of England's world power or of England as the master of the world is nothing but an illusion. To begin with her internal situation: England, in spite of her world conquests, is perhaps socially the most backward state in Europe. Socially backward—that is, a state oriented entirely in the interests of a comparatively small and thin upper stratum and the Jewish clique with which it is allied. The interests of the broad masses are of no weight in determining the orientation of this state. Here again propaganda phrases must serve. One speaks about freedom, one speaks about democracy, one speaks about the achievements of a liberal system meaning nothing but the stabilization of the regime of a section of society, which, thanks to its capital, is able to get hold of the press, to organize and direct it, and to create public opinion. Thus, in a state commanding the riches of the world, having gigantic living space at its disposal, in a state with altogether hardly one inhabitant per square kilometer, in a state so blessed by nature, millions are excluded from these benefits, and live in greater poverty than the population of any of the overpopulated central European states. The country, which is a paradise for a few, is nothing but continuous misery for many—that is, for the masses: misery in nourishment, misery in clothing, misery particularly in housing, misery in security of income and in the entire social legislation.

In Europe, itself, however, the awakening of the nations has already done away with the theory of the so-called balance of power, that is, disorganization of the continent. The national development of Germany and the creation of the new German empire pierced into this disorganized European continent, and to the south of us, Italy did the same. To this must be added new elements which make the balance of power appear an illusion. It exists no longer.

Left, the last known photograph of Hitler.

Adolf Hitler, ever mindful of the inspirational needs of his people, emerged from his bunker late in the war to award medals to Hitler Youth fighters. Soon after this picture was taken, Hitler, his mistress, Eva Braun, and other high-ranking Nazis and their families committed suicide, or so they say. At least one book is due to hit the market this year that claims—with eyewitness testimony included for what it is worth—that Hitler survived the war and made his way to South America. It is claimed that Hitler's dental records are proof positive that the Fuehrer killed himself in his Berlin Bunker. Many claim that the famous Soviet picture of the dead Hitler is a phony, perhaps one of Hitler's doubles. Stay tuned.

Therein we really see the real reason for the world war. Since 1871, when German tribes began to organize themselves and, under the leadership of a statesman of genius, formed an empire once more, and the national rebirth of the German nation found expression in a united state, Great Britain has been persecuting this new apparition. In 1871, even in 1870, immediately after the battle of Sedan, British newspapers began to point out that this new structure was more dangerous to Great Britain than France had been. It had been hoped even then that Prussia might succeed, perhaps, by a long war, in throwing back France, but there was no wish that from Prussia's rise there should emerge a national German rebirth or, even more, a new German empire.

Thus began the period from 1871 to 1914, in which Great Britain continually plotted for a war against Germany, in which she was hostile and aggressive to Germany at every opportunity, until finally the world war broke out, the work of quite a small group of international, unscrupulous rogues. And Great Britain received foreign help for this world war, which, again, she was only able to wage with foreign help.

It is interesting to visualize the development of the British policy of world domination during the last 400 years. First, there was Spain, with Dutch help; then the fight against the Dutch, with the help of other European states, France among them; then, finally, war against France, with the help of Europe and that part of the world at Great Britain's disposal.

I should not like to be a critic of the past if I had not improved upon it. But today, as one of the historic men who have improved matters, I may critically examine and judge the past, and all I can say is that the result of the year 1918 is merely the consequence of a rare accumulation of personal inefficiency in the leadership of our nation, a unique accumulation which had never existed before in history, nor will it ever be repeated. In spite of all this, this country and the German soldier for four years withstood the attack of a hostile world, and the German nation still believed in the honor of the remaining democratic world and its statesmen.

This credulity of the German nation, which was at the time regretted by many, received a terrible reward. If today Englishmen come along and believe that it is only necessary to put on the gramophone the old propaganda records of the years 1917-18 in order to achieve a new result, I can only say they have not forgotten anything, but unfortunately for them, they have not learned by experience. In this respect they differ from the German people. The German nation has not learned since then; nor has it forgotten anything.

Many times there have been broken pledges in the past. But what happened in the years following 1918 was not one broken pledge; broken pledges were mass produced. Not a single pledge has been fulfilled. Never before has a great nation been deceived as the German nation was then deceived. It had received so many assurances, this credulous nation had been promised so much, and what did they do to our nation? It was plundered, it was exploited. A foreign statesman, an American, was employed to make the German people even more credulous. Perhaps this was really the reason why the German people were duped by this maneuver.

But in this respect, too, they are immune against any similar attempts. The German people had opportunities, year after year, to ponder the sincerity of democratic promises and assurances and the honesty of democratic statesmen, to make comparisons and to test them against their own experiences. It was in this period that the National Socialist movement originated.

If they now say, "But why did they pounce on a new ideology?" my answer is, "Because the old one failed miserably." Not only in the interior—Heavens! Democracy was a pitiful thing with us. When 40- or 50-odd parties compete with their gigantic

philosophical interests, ranging from that of property down to the level of cyclists' clubs, estate owners and so on, that in itself is a very bad sight. But quite apart from that, if we only had been rewarded externally for this miserable internal democratic distortion of our lives, we could at least say: "Well, that stuff has certainly failed at home, but at least you received decent treatment outside."

At home the whole thing was, of course, nothing but a joke, but foreign countries took you seriously—or at least they pretended that they wanted to take you seriously; if they had kept some of their promises because you were willing to be good democrats on the pattern of others.

When I came home in 1918 and lived through the winter of 1918 and 1919, I realized, like many other people, that we could not expect regeneration from the existing political world in Germany, and so I began to search—as did so many others—and this was how that conception originated which later conquered the German nation as National Socialism. I started from the one insight: The German nation fell because it indulged in the luxury of spending its strength at home. This use of strength in the interior took away external strength according to an external law.

When I came home in 1918 and lived through the winter of 1918 and 1919, I realized that we could not expect regeneration from the existing political world in Germany . . .

Today, my countrymen, when millions and millions are marching under the symbol of this unity, this appears to be obvious. But in the years 1918 and 1919, this seemed to be the product of a diseased imagination. At best, people pitied me. Perhaps, my countrymen, it was lucky that it was so. If people had taken me seriously at that time, they would probably have destroyed me, and the movement at that time was much too small to be able to survive such destruction. But it was perhaps destiny willed by nature or by God, that they laughed at us, mocked us, and that a certain type of propaganda only ridiculed us and regarded us as a joke. Thus we succeeded, gradually, in forming the first germ, and the first nucleus of a new national community—an almost incredible historical phenomenon started by unknown people and willing followers among the masses of the people itself.

The fact that in the years 1918 to 1921 the simple belief of the broad masses slowly came to us was the beginning of our movement. That made the little man from the factories and the mines, from the farms, from the offices, believe in his future, in the future of this idea and this movement, and in the victory which was yet to come. At that time our point of view was that if the German nation were not to repair its prestige in the world, that is to say, did not again become a powerful factor, Germany would shortly have 20 million people less. This was a matter of simple deduction.

Year after year unemployment increased and caused the confusion of national conceptions and of economic plans. The constant change of governments prevented any wider vision. Projects could not even be made for two or three months ahead, because one could be sure that in three months the government would have changed. One would say: "Why should I clear up the mistakes made by others?" Another would say: "Why should I make improvements only for someone else to benefit?"

It was well to be believed that the kind and humane prophecy of the great democrat Clemenceau that we had 20 million people too many would become the truth. Thus the program of unification of the German forces, of blind obedience to a goal was created to assure our right to live forever and ever. By so doing we chose a path between two extremes. The one of these extremes was holding our people. It was the liberal-individualist extreme which made the individual not only the center of interest but also the center of all action. On the other hand, our people were tempted by the theory of "universal humanity" which alone was to guide the individual. Our ideals were between the two: We saw the people as a community of body and soul, formed and willed by Providence.

We are put into this community, and within it alone can we form our existence. We have consciously subordinated all considerations to this goal; have shaped all interests according to it, and all our actions. Thus the National Socialist world of thought arose which has overcome individualism, but not by cutting down individual capacities or individual initiative, only by asserting that the common interest is superior to individual liberty and the initiative of the individual. This common interest regulates and orders, if necessary, curtails, but also commands.

Thus we started a struggle against everyone in those days, against the individualist as well as against the humanitarians. And in this struggle we slowly conquered the German nation during 14 years. The 1,000 members whom this movement counted at the end of its first year of life, a number which was to increase steadily—these followers were but Germans who had come from other movements. Hundreds of thousands of my SA and SS had been fighters in other organizations whom we had all convinced and conquered by winning their inner allegiance. That was perhaps the greatest battle of souls in our history. I could not force anybody to go with me, to enter my organization—they all had to be inwardly convinced—and this conviction caused them to make great sacrifices. This struggle was to be really fought out in the spirit by word, form and writing. Only when an ill-willed opponent said: "I cannot defeat you in the spirit, but I am stronger than you," only then did I, the former soldier, rightly answer violence with violence.

Our opponents at that time were those who have always fought us inside as well as outside the country: a conglomeration of people who feel, think and act according to international ideas. We know the coalitions of that time. In this battle of the spirit we have defeated them everywhere. For when at last I was called to power, I came in the legal way, under the presidency of Reichsgeneral Field Marshal von Hindenburg because I was backed by the strongest movement.

When we came to power in 1933 our road was clearly mapped out. It had been defined in a struggle of 15 years, which in a thousand demonstrations had put us under an obligation to the German people. And I would be dishonorable and deserve to be stoned if I had deviated but one step from this program, or if I were to do so now. The social part of this program meant unifying the German people, overcoming all class and race prejudices, educating the German for the community, and if necessary, breaking

any opposition to this unity.

Economically, it meant building a National German economy which appreciated the importance of private initiative but subordinated the entire economic life to the common interest. In times in which the sons are arrayed for defense in battle, and where no difference can be made between those who represent much and those who represent little, economic advantages or privileged positions to the disadvantage of the total community cannot be maintained.

As everywhere, I proceeded here by teaching, educating and slow adaptation, for it was my pride to carry out this revolution without one single windowpane being broken in Germany. A revolution which led to the greatest changes ever achieved on earth, but which destroyed nothing, only slowly reorganized everything, until at last the entire great community had found its new road—that was my goal. It was the same in foreign politics. My program was to do away with Versailles. People all over the world should not pretend to be simpletons and act as if I had only discovered this program in 1933 or 1935 or 1937. These gentlemen should only have read what I wrote about myself a thousand times instead of listening to stupid émigré trash. No human being can have stated and written down as often as I what he wanted, and I wrote it again and again: "Away with Versailles."

But again I did not want to do this with violence. I talked as much as any human being can. My speeches in the Reichstag, which cannot be falsified by democratic statesmen, are evidence for history. What offers did I make them! How I begged them to be reasonable! I begged them to see reason and not to interfere with the existence of a great nation. I proved to them that they themselves would derive no benefit from it. I told them it was senseless and that they would only do themselves harm. What have I not done in all these years to pave the way to an understanding?

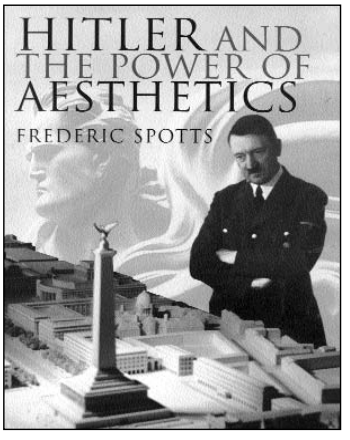
It would never have been possible to begin this armament race unless others had wanted it. I made proposals to them. However, every proposal, coming as it did from me, was sufficient to cause excitement among a certain Jewish-international-capitalist clique, just as it used to happen formerly in Germany when every reasonable proposal was rejected only because it was made by National Socialists.

My Reichstag speech on May 17, 1933, or for that matter, my later speeches, my innumerable announcements at public meetings, all the memoranda which I wrote in these days—they were all governed by the one idea: Whatever happened, it must be possible to find a method for a peaceful revision of this Versailles Treaty. That this Treaty was an infamous document, all its authors finally admitted. In fact, the possibility of a revision was to be left open. Only they made the League of Nations the agent for this purpose, and this institution was quite unsuited for its task. The League of Nations was established on the one hand to prevent a revision of the treaty, and, on the other hand, was to have jurisdiction for such a revision.

At first we were not members of the league, and later German participation amounted in the last analysis to nothing but the payments of yearly installments. That was the only positive thing as far as Germany could see. Of course, Germany was then a democracy, and the democrats of Berlin begged, on their knees. They went to Geneva before the international tribunal. They begged: "Give us a revision."

If the others believed they could apply the same methods to us they applied to the November men, they were greatly mistak-

Hitler
& the Power of Aesthetics



Adolf Hitler has been described as a failed artist, a hack. But reality is far from the skewed portrayals we have been presented in almost every mainstream history text since his death. He was, in fact, a man with vast artistic and conceptual abilities. And he was the driving force behind the creation of the new image of the Third Reich—from monuments to public buildings to opera houses to great war memorials to new music to grand museums to hold the finest artwork from a variety of European cultures.

Yet this aspect of Adolf Hitler has been almost completely ignored in the frenzy to portray Hitler as a sadistic, bloodthirsty demon.

In a remarkable synthesis of key scholarship and historical resources, author Frederic Spotts portrays the National Socialist revolution as much less a political than a cultural revolution. Spotts maintains that Hitler viewed himself first and foremost as an artist and that his activities were largely directed to promotion of the arts. His driving ambition was to create a supreme culture state—out with the corrupt, in with the aesthetically ennobling. Hitler's vision of his German super-state was to be expressed as much in art as politics. Culture was not only the end to which power should aspire, but the means of achieving it.

Art was at the center of Hitler's life—and he was the center of the arts. He dissolved this line—merging art and politics like no one else in history—by creating powerful parades, spectacles, films, rallies, operas, monumental architecture, sculpture, paintings and even the great autobahns and the Volkswagen. He involved the entire German nation as participants in his National Socialist aesthetic drama.

A revealing and highly conceptual work—loaded with photographs and sketches of the great cultural accomplishments of the Hitler era—*Hitler & the Power of Aesthetics* provides an additional clue to the understanding of the Third Reich—in many ways the first key to the first lock on the first floor. It has, until now, been only noted in the more speculative psychological portraits, biographies and hackneyed histories of the Third Reich.

Containing more than 145 drawings, photos, models, sculptures, paintings, architectural works etc, this book covers the subject like no other before.

Hitler & the Power of Aesthetics (hardback, 456 pages, **#377**, ***$37.50*** minus 10% for TBR subscribers) can be ordered from TBR Book Club, P.O. Box 15877, Washington, D.C. 20003 using the coupon on page 80. Call 1-877-773-9077 toll free to charge to Visa or MasterCard.

en. In that event both sides were at cross purposes. They could not expect us to go to Geneva and continue begging, to receive kicks, and to beg again. If they expected that, they mistook the former German soldier for the traitor of 1918. Of course, those November men could not do anything but give in, for they were in fetters; they were caught in the fetters of that other world. Then they forced us down by a lie; a trick, but the British soldiers did not defeat us. Neither did it seem during the Western campaign that any change has taken place. I, myself, and in fact, all of us, made up our minds that voluntary negotiation at Geneva would not yield any result. The only thing to do, therefore, was to leave Geneva.

At the Disarmament Conference, the same happened, and we left it. We started on the road which we were forced to choose, but all the time we strove for understanding and conciliation. In this connection I may point out that our striving in one case, in that of France, almost succeeded. When the Saar plebiscite took place, and the Saar territory was returned to the Reich, I made up my mind, with difficulty, and declared on behalf of the German nation that I would waive any further revision [of Germany's borders] in the west.

The French accepted this as a matter of course, but I told the French ambassador of the day: "Look here, this is by no means a matter of course as you seem to imagine. What we are doing is making a sacrifice in the interest of peace. We make this sacrifice, but we, at least, want to have peace in exchange for it." But the ruthlessness of the capitalist plutocrats in these countries always broke through in a short time, fostered by emigrants who presented a picture of the German situation which was naturally quite mad, but was believed because it seemed agreeable and then, of course, it was propagated by Jewish hatred.

They can wage wars for their capitalist interests, but in the end . . . it is impossible that hundreds of millions of human beings should be aligned according to the interests of a few individuals.

This collection of capitalist interests on the one hand, Jewish instincts of hatred and the emigrants' lust for revenge, succeeded in increasingly beclouding the world, enveloping it in phrases, and in inciting it against the present German Reich, just as against the Reich which preceded us. At that time they opposed the Germany of the Kaiser, this time they opposed National Socialist Germany. In fact, they opposed any Germany which might be in existence. But my decision was firm: in no circumstances to abandon one's rights, for in doing so it would not be theories which were given up, but the lives of millions of the future. I do not sacrifice some point or other in a party program, for in such a case one sacrifices the future, a race, and nobody is entitled to do that.

When I saw that the old warmongers of the Great War were resuming their criminal activities in England, when Messrs. Churchill, Eden, Duff Cooper and Hore-Belisha and so on, and Vansittart, our great old friend, and then Chamberlain and Halifax—when these old men again began their warmongering then it was clear to me that these people were not concerned with reaching a just understanding with Germany, but that they believed they could again break Germany down, cheaply, and the quicker the easier. In those years, beginning in 1934, I armed. When, in the Reichstag in September 1939, I outlined the extent of German armament, the rest of the world did not believe; for those who live by bluff think that others are only bluffing. But we have already experienced that internally. Here, too, my opponents never believed me. When it is said that the prophet is not without honor, save in his own country, I should like to extend it, and say that his prophecies are not esteemed. And now it goes beyond our own country: We are having exactly the same experience as my National Socialist co-fighters had at home. Every one of our prophecies was laughed at; every statement was represented as ridiculous, every picture of the future described as a fantastic chimera. We were greeted only with mockery and laughter. Now I can only say to this world: "But I have armed and very much so."

We have demanded nothing from the others. When France entered this war, she had absolutely no reason. It was merely the desire to fight against Germany again. They said, "We want the Rhineland; naturally we now want to split up Germany; we want to tear away the Ostmark; we want to disintegrate Germany." They actually wallowed in fantasies of the destruction of our Reich, which were completely unreal in the 20th century, the century of the conception of nationality.

And England? I held out my hand, again and again. It was actually my program to reach an understanding with the English people. We had really no point of difference, absolutely none. There was a solitary point, the return of the German colonies, and on that I said, "We will negotiate that sometime—I do not fix any time." For England those colonies are useless. They cover 40 million square meters. What do they do with them? Absolutely nothing. That is only the avarice of old usurers, who possess something and will not give it up—perverted beings who see their neighbor has nothing to eat, while they themselves cannot use what they possess. The mere thought of giving away something makes them ill. Moreover, I have demanded nothing which belonged to the English; I have demanded only what they robbed and stole in the years 1918 and 1919. In fact, robbed and stole against the solemn assurance of the American president. We have not asked them for anything, not demanded anything—again and again I offered my hand for negotiations.

They can wage wars for their capitalist interests, but in the end these wars will open the way for social risings within the nations; for in the long run it is impossible that hundreds of millions of human beings should be aligned according to the interests of a few individuals. In the long run the greater interest of mankind is bound to prevail over the interests of these little plutocratic profiteers. Proof that is in other countries, too, a crisis is already beginning to develop in this sphere, is that English Labour leaders now suddenly come out with new social conceptions, worn out and antiquated.

But the mere fact that anything like that is suddenly put forward as an aim—for what then are these gentlemen actually waging war? First, they said it was to fight against National Socialism that the nations of the world had to be bled white, and now, suddenly they detect in their bottom drawers, points that were in the programs of our predecessors. Why all this? They could have had all this cheaper. But this fact furnishes proof that there, too, the nations are showing signs of action, or if for instance a storm breaks out in England, because somebody—a

colonel or a general, I believe—declares that in the England of such an advanced social standard, they cannot use officers taken from the lower section of the population, but only officers from the upper classes—the others are unfit.

You should not get exasperated, because this is not the case, but not for the reason that somebody has at long last expressed it. It is interesting that no one gets exasperated over the fact that the reality is like this, that is to say, that in point of fact only representatives of the upper classes can attain a position there. This is what should exasperate you, and not the fact that by mere chance someone was, while this war is on, unwise enough to make that statement. In our country, if you are interested to hear it, this was remedied long ago.

The English will make up their minds to send a commission which is to take over our soldiers. It is this social Germany which is hated most by this clique, a conglomeration of Jews, their financiers and profiteers. Our foreign policy, our policy in the interior and our economic policy have been clearly defined. We have set ourselves only one aim: the people. All paths upon which we set our feet will lead to this purpose. Furthermore, we recognize that unless one wants to destroy everything, one must start and proceed on this path with many compromises and many leniencies. But the movement is not the temporary appearance of one man. Many years ago, in *Mein Kampf,* I said that National Socialism will put its stamp on the next thousand years of German history. You cannot conceive it without National Socialism. It will only then disappear when its program has become a matter of course.

But even in war, the possibility of an understanding still existed. At once, after the war with Poland, I held out my hand. I did not ask anything from either France or England. It was in vain. After the collapse in the west, I again held out my hand to England. I was received with derision. They practically spat at me. They were indignant. The financial interests of this democracy are victorious over the true national interests. Once more, the nation's blood must be at the service of the money of this small group of interested people.

Thus the war started and thus it will go on. But, looking back, I may point out one thing: The year behind us and the last part of the previous year have practically decided this war. The opponent whom they first mobilized against us in the east was overthrown in a few weeks. The attempt to cut us off from Norway and the iron ore bases, and to gain a base for attack against northeast Germany was dealt with in the same way, within a few weeks. The attempt to reach the border of the Ruhr and the Ruhr zones via Holland and Belgium collapsed after a few days. France went the same way. England was chased from the continent.

That the German nation has no quarrel with the Americans is evident to everybody who does not consciously wish to falsify truth. At no time has Germany had interests on the American continent except perhaps that she helped that continent in its struggle for liberty. If states on this continent now attempt to interfere in the European conflict, then the aim will only be changed more quickly. Europe will then defend herself. And do not let people deceive themselves. Those who believe they can help England must take note of one thing: Every [British] ship, whether with or without convoy, which appears before our torpedo tubes is going to be torpedoed.

We are involved in a war which we did not want. Otherwise one could not stretch out one's hand to the other side. However,

Unlike the demon he is made out to be, *Hitler was fond of children—and they liked him too. Here he hugs an unidentified young girl. "Hitler kissed me on the cheek and asked if I would like to eat some strawberries. He had bright blue, charismatic eyes, and his personality had [a] compelling effect on me. If he had asked me to lay down my life for him that minute, I would have died on the spot, without hesitation," recalled one youngster, Helga Hoefle, years later.*

if those financial hyenas want war, if they want to exterminate Germany, they will get the surprise of their lives. This time they are not up against a weakened Germany, as they were during the world war. This time, they have joined battle with a Germany which is mobilized to the limit of her power, able and resolved to fight.

Wherever we can meet England, we will meet her. However, if they regard the present setbacks of Italy as evidence of their victory, then I really cannot understand Englishmen. Whenever they have setbacks of their own, they regard them as big victories. The gentlemen over there may be convinced our calculation is quite accurate, and the reckoning will be made after the war, foot by foot, square kilometer by square kilometer.

Another thing these people must understand: The Duce and myself are not Jews nor out for bargains. If we shake hands, that is the handshake of men of honor. I hope that in the course of the year the gentlemen will acquire a more accurate understanding of this.

A real softening of the brain has broken out in these democracies. They can rest assured that the German people will do everything necessary for its interest. It will follow its leadership. It knows that its leadership has no other goal. It knows that today the man at the head of the Reich is not one with a packet of shares in his pocket and with ulterior motives. This German people, I know it and I am proud of it, is pledged to me and will go with me through thick and thin. An ancient spirit has come to life again in this people—a spirit which was with us once before, a fanatic readiness to accept any burden. We will repay every blow with compound interest. The blow will only harden us, and whatever they mobilize against us, and if the world were full of devils, we will succeed. ❖

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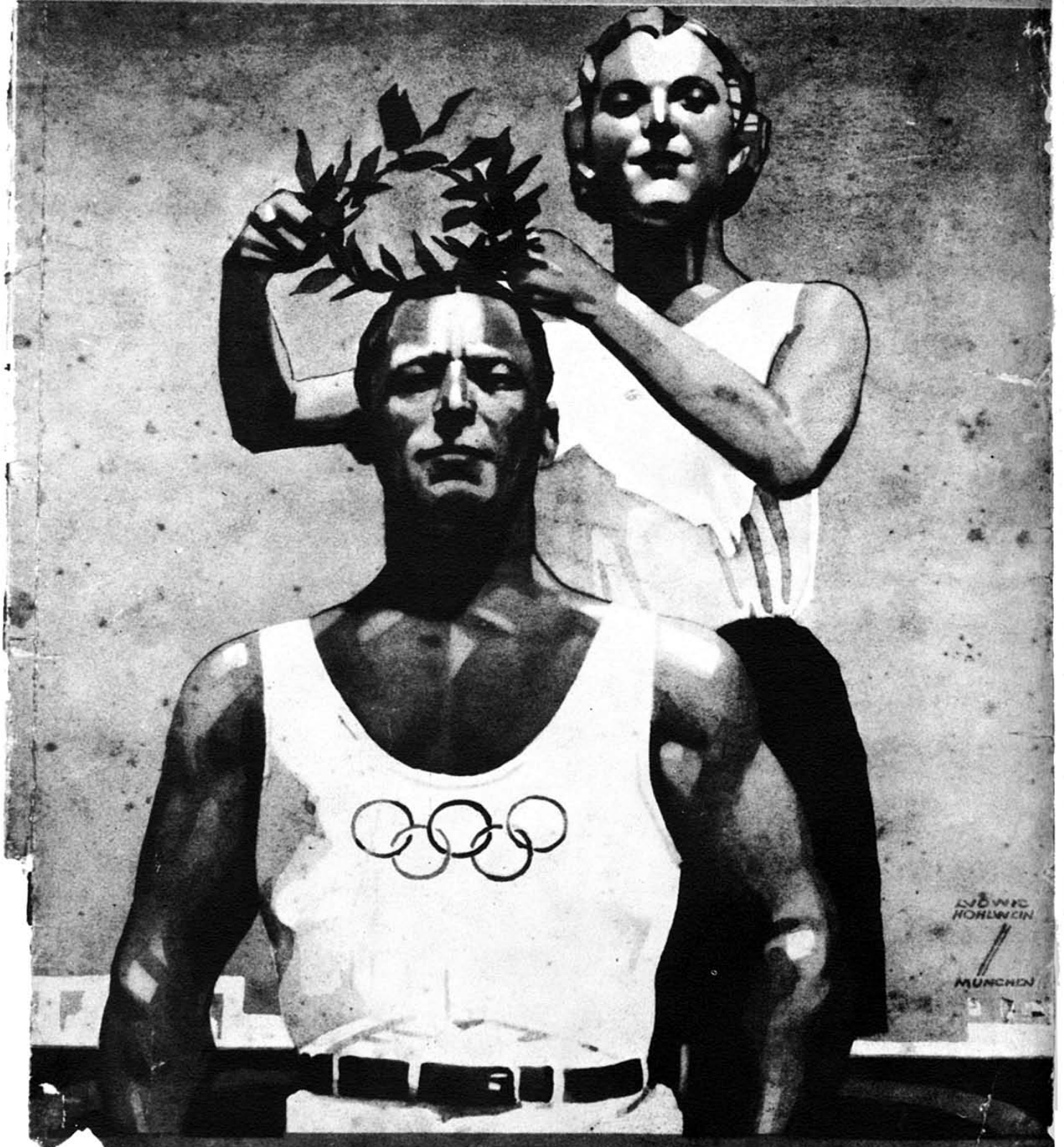

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„Die 16 olympischen Tage"

Hitler & the Olympics

By General Leon Degrelle

The American diplomat, George Kennan, would synthesize the thoughts of the American as well as the European visitors to Germany in this characteristic sentence of the report he sent his government at the end of the games: "Germany has been unified, and very profoundly. Now Adolf Hitler is in the process of eliminating the last vestiges of individualism and class differences." The Berlin Olympic games in that radiant August of 1936 had been an exhibition, for all to see, of the material and moral transformation of Hitler's Germany. Each of the visitors had been able to see, to ask, to judge. It was another plebiscite, a plebiscite of foreigners.

On August 1, 1936, amid decorations of a grandeur never before known, Adolf Hitler was going to inaugurate the Olympic games at Berlin. "They mark a high point, a sort of apotheosis for Hitler and for the Third Reich," wrote the French ambassador. For four years and throughout the world the leader of the new Germany had been pursued by an envious and frenzied anti-fascism. Particularly relentless in that pursuit were the communications media of the Jewish lobby, the absolute master—even then—of the large-circulation newspapers and the big international news agencies.

The "Nuremberg Laws" only 10 months before the Berlin Olympics had marked one of the summits of anti-Hitler agitation.

Strange as it may seem, these "Nuremberg Laws" had recognized the Jews as Jews—as Jews having rights of their own, but also, obviously, duties. For an Israelite necessarily does not have just rights, especially if he is enjoying the hospitality of a foreign country and the advantages the latter provides.

The Germans of 1935 meant to consider the race the Jews are so proud of as a specific race.

So what of that?

What else did the Jews do in 1948 when they set up the state of Israel? They established, in their fundamental Mosaic laws, the preeminence of their race, admitting non-Jews only as foreigners or as subordinates—the Palestinians especially—who remain distinct from the Jewish community.

From before the time of Christ their millenary race had spread its tentacles everywhere in the world. Jews have always preserved their ethnic characteristics with the greatest rigor.

Even in Israel the Jews see to the most severe maintenance of their morals and customs, jealously protecting the strict purity of their blood. That has been at the very basis of their historic survival. Their "religion" always opposes, often even with extraordinary intolerance, any interbreeding with other races.

That being so, what gives the Israelites the right wherever they are abroad to claim to possess at the same time their own nationality and the nationality of the others? A Japanese in Berlin was not at the same time both a German and a Japanese. Is a Frenchman in Tel Aviv both a Frenchman and an Israelite?

The fury with which Jewish racism stirred up the whole world against Hitler would soon have a boomerang effect and provoke the explosion in September 1939 of World War II, in which the Jewish race would be the first to pay the consequences.

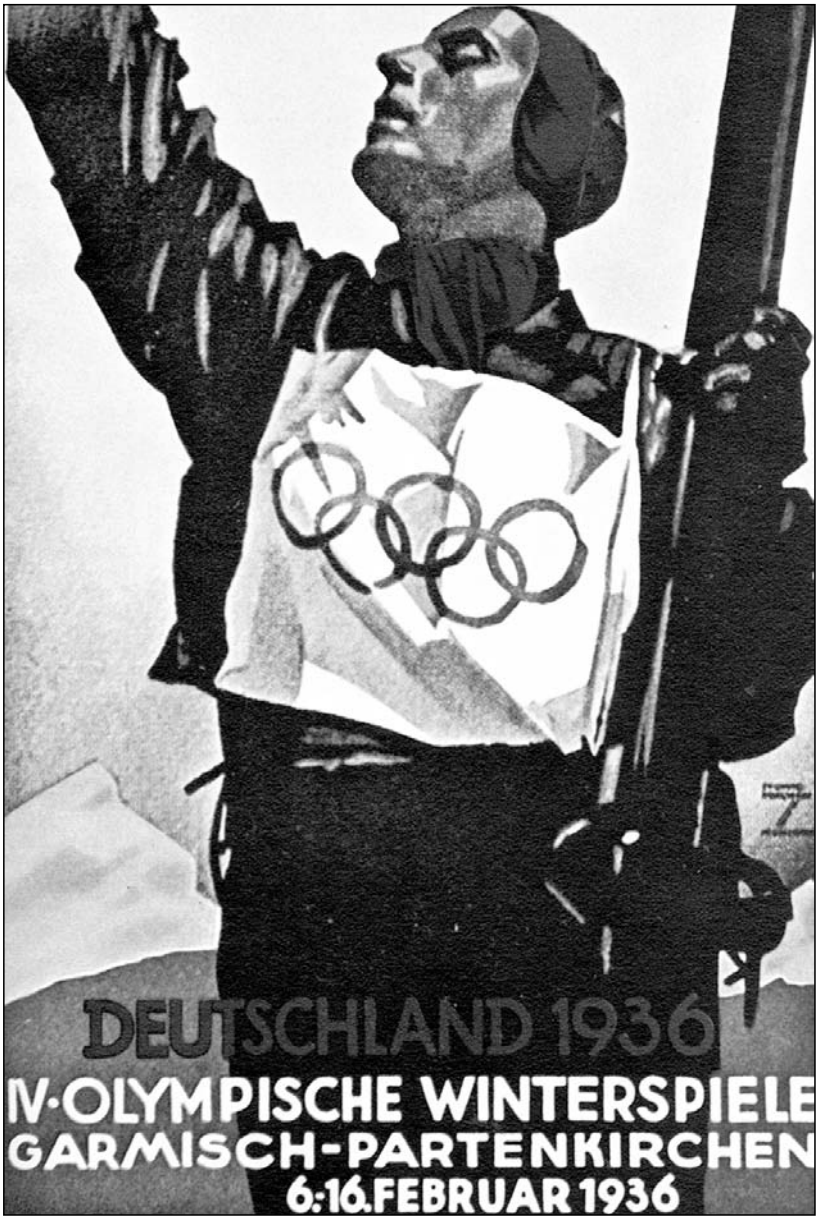
However, in August of 1936 there were still a good many reasonable men who retained their composure. Millions of undecided Europeans asked themselves questions. What was Hitler all about?

Hitler's rumbling voice gave the shivers to millions of non-Germans listening to the radio. The man was an enormous question mark. Thousands were curious to know more about him.

Opposite page: A magazine cover for the 1936 Olympic games. *The games would be Hitler's opportunity to showcase his vision of a new and powerful Germany to everyone. He could now extol his vision of the virtues of German Nationalist Socialism to the world—that Germany, having shaken off the Great Depression, was now once more a leading economic engine of Europe. Rudi Ball was a Jewish German ice-hockey player living outside of Germany. He returned to Germany to play during the Winter Olympic games. Helene Mayer, a world-class fencing champion, was a German of Jewish heritage residing in California. She was persuaded to return to Germany and went on to win the silver medal for Germany in women's individual fencing.*

That explains why countless foreigners flocked to Berlin on August 1, 1936 at the opening of the Olympic games. They came to see the athletes. They came above all to see what this new, powerful, fascinating Germany they'd heard so much bad about was really like. They vaguely felt that the bill of indictment had to have been exaggerated. They even began to feel a certain mistrust in the matter. They wanted to be able on the occasion of these Olympic Games to get a good look at Hitler right on the spot.

"Hitler," the ambassador of France at Berlin, M. André François-Poncet, explained, "has impressed Europe as being an extraordinary person. He not only inspires fear or aversion; he excites curiosity; he awakens sympathy; his prestige is growing, and the force of attraction that emanates from him is felt beyond the bounds of his own country. Kings, princes, illustrious visitors are thronging into the capital of the Reich, less perhaps to attend the sporting events that are to take place here than to draw near to this man of fate who appears to have the destiny of the continent in his hands, to have a close look at this Germany that he has, in his irresistible embrace, transformed and galvanized. And everyone here, in the presence of organization without deficiencies, order and discipline without a flaw, and prodigality without limits, goes into raptures. As a matter of fact, the tableau is magnificent."



This is the official poster *of the 1936 Olympic Winter Games. The Fourth Olympic Winter Games, at Garmische-Partenkirchen in Bavaria, 1936, saw the introduction of alpine skiing. But the sole alpine event was a combined alpine and downhill event for men and women, won by Germans Franz Pfnur and Christl Cranz. Alpine powerhouse Norway returned to the top of the winter medals table.*

An enormous stadium—the biggest in the world—capable of holding one hundred and ten thousand spectators, had been built amid the forests and lakes west of Berlin.

"The latter," [i.e., the stadium] François-Poncet goes on, "seen from inside, is strikingly beautiful. Large approaches permit the crowds to fill it and to leave it in a few moments without a crush. It has been provided with all the fittings and improvements suited to its purpose. The locker rooms for the athletes, installations reserved for the press, restaurants, the tribune for the authorities, all leave nothing to be desired, while the reddish brown sand of the track, the striking green of the grass, and the soft gray of the tiers compose a harmony of colors that tempts the eyes."

Hitler had even intended for this grandiose stadium to be built of sandstone and marble; only the hurry had necessitated, against his will, the use of cement.

This stadium, larger than the Coliseum of the Romans, was just one of the grandiose buildings that Hitler wished to bestow upon the Third Reich. Already at the time he had begun a new chancellery, with grandiose drawing rooms, fine mosaics, columns worthy of Luxor, that from 1938 forward would be the most imposing—and beyond a doubt the most beautiful—of the seats of government of all the heads of state in the world.

Other impressive palaces would house the Ministry of the Reichswehr and that of the air force. The stadium in the National Socialist Congress center at Nuremberg, whose construction Hitler had ordered, would accommodate 400,000 persons.

But it was Berlin above all that would be marked by grandeur. Hitler wished to transform that rather commonplace and at times even shabby capital from top to bottom. The plans he himself sketched still exist. They were breathtaking. Crossing the new capital there was to be an avenue five kilometers long lined with multiple and splendid buildings extending over an area of several million square meters: ministries, the residence of the Fuehrer, a group of diplomatic residences with flat roofs covered with immense terraces of gardens and foliage growing in soil three meters deep. The triumphal arch spanning the avenue was to be eighty meters high. The whole was to be dominated by the most imposing dome on earth, rising 300 meters high and capable of accommodating 180,000 people.

This was not a question of megalomania on Hitler's part.

Did Hitler 'Snub' Jesse Owens at the 1936 Olympics?

In 1936, 22-year-old American J.C. "Jesse" Owens didn't care about politics. He just wanted to show off his immense skills and represent his country to the best of his abilities. Most German athletes felt the same way. Just over a year earlier, on May 25, 1935, Owens had recorded one of the more mind-boggling performances in track and field history. He broke three world records and tied another at the Big Ten track and field championships in Michigan—in just 45 minutes. But on his first qualifying jump in Berlin, Owens inadvertently leapt from several inches beyond the takeoff board. Rattled, he fouled on his second attempt, too. One more foul and he would be eliminated. At this point, a tall Nordic German introduced himself as Luz Long and chats with the American athlete (right). Long made a suggestion that enabled Owens to qualify easily. In the finals, Owens set an Olympic record and earned the second of four gold medals. The first person to congratulate him was Long—in full view of Adolf Hitler. Owens never again saw Long, who was killed in World War II. "You could melt down all the medals and cups I have," Owens later wrote, "and they wouldn't be a plating on the 24-carat friendship I felt for Luz Long." For his part, Owens always said that he was pleased that, after winning gold, when he passed Hitler, the Fuehrer smiled at him and gave him a congratulatory nod and wave, contrary to the old story that Hitler was so enraged that a black athlete had defeated "the master race," he left the Olympic stadium rather than see gold awarded to Owens.

He had personally retained very modest ways, continuing to keep his little five-room apartment in Munich, surrounded by other tenants, at the top of a miserable flight of stairs. It was there in 1937 that he would receive Mussolini quite plainly, and then, in 1938, on the day after Munich, Mr. Chamberlain.

A plate of pasta, an egg, a few cakes with cream, water, and a cup of herb tea sufficed him.

But he wanted his century to leave a mark forever on future ages, so that even if in time his political work were effaced, grandiose marks of it would remain. It is stone and marble that mark historical greatness. Greece, mother of all civilizations, is the Acropolis. Rome, mistress of the world, is the Forum, the Coliseum, a hundred theaters, aqueducts, and triumphal arches marking out the empire from Palmyra to Volubilis.

As with them, the monuments of the Third Reich would say for eternity what it had been.

Hitler himself had painted a hundred sketches of this future empire of stones, often in minute detail. He insisted on choosing the materials personally: the red marbles, the limestones, and the costly woods. To buy the most perfect blocks of stone from Sweden he would not hesitate to pay out every last scrap of foreign currency. He spent hours studying every model.

The world could collapse, but a thousand years after him they would find grandiose vestiges of his century, like the pyramids standing alone but immortal in their moving sea of sand.

The spectators of the Olympic games in Berlin had thus stepped right into magnificence.

Hitler's car had traversed the 15 kilometers of the "Triumphal Way" leading to the stadium, applauded by a crowd such as Berlin had never known and which, at considerable effort, contained 40,000 policemen on duty.

One hundred thousand spectators standing with arms extended had cheered him at his arrival while trumpets sounded a striking salute. The runner carrying the Olympic torch had entered the stadium and transferred the sacred flame to the high torchère that would burn until the end of the games. Then there appeared the chorus of 3,000 members directed by Richard Strauss, the greatest musician of the century. They sang "Deutschland Ueber Alles" and the "Horst Wessel Lied" followed immediately by the "Olympic Hymn" that Strauss had composed especially for this grandiose world festival.

Buzzing around Hitler was a swarm of princes, kings, and prominent personalities from all over the planet: Boris, king of Bulgaria; the crown prince of Italy; Marie José, his wife, the sister of the king of Belgium; the crown princes of Sweden, Greece, and even faraway Japan; the sons of Mussolini; and noted aristo-

crats from Latin, Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries.

Hitler did not miss a day of the games, waxing enthusiastic, congratulating the German woman who had beaten the record in the javelin throw as well as the Finns who had won the 10,000 meter trial.

Even with Jewish or black athletes, Hitler was perfectly friendly.

Helene Mayer, the women's fencing champion, was Jewish. So was Rudi Ball, a hockey champion.

With the dishonesty that is ever characteristic of anti-Hitlerism, quite a scandal was created concerning the American champion athlete, a black, Jesse Owens, winner of four gold medals, whom the Fuehrer, it seemed, had refused to greet. Fifty years later this fable was still being repeated. Owens himself has insisted on denouncing the inanity of this tittle-tattle and has very handsomely acknowledged that Hitler had rendered him homage publicly and with kindness:

"When I passed before the Chancellor," the champion stated, "he rose and waved to me, and I returned his salute in the same manner. I believe that the reporters have given proof of their bad taste in criticizing him."

The Olympic games came to an end on August 16, 1936, in an atmosphere of triumph while Richard Strauss's 3,000 choristers sang the hymn, "The Games Are Ended."

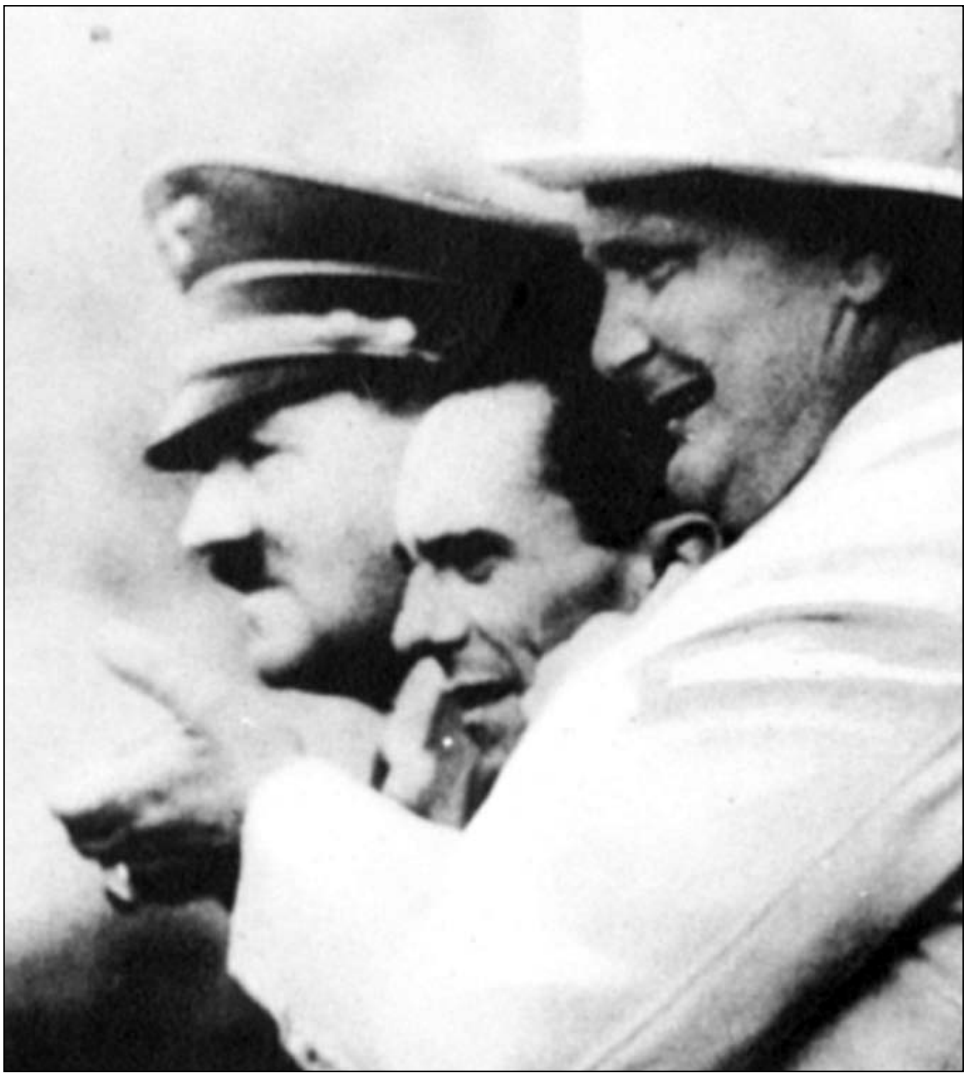
Germany could be proud of her successes, which brought proof of the renascence of her youth in sport. One of the most noteworthy of the observers, the American historian John Toland, would write most fairly:

"The Games marked a nearly absolute Nazi triumph. The Germans won the greatest number of gold medals (35), and the majority of the silver and bronze medals besides; and what was a great surprise, they beat the Americans, who were left in second place with 57 points."

"A still more important fact," Toland adds, "a good many visitors returned from Germany charmed by the cordiality of their hosts and impressed by what they had seen of Hitler's Reich. The success of the Games was glorified afterward by a documentary in two parts filmed by Leni Riefenstahl that earned world acclaim. . . . Any objective observer of the German reality," Toland concludes, "cannot deny Hitler's notable achievements."

Hitler had made no secret of the fact that he wanted much more than external successes.

"The goal of our education," he explained to all those visitors, "is the formation of character. We prefer 10 kilos less of knowledge and 10 kilos more of character."



Left to right, Hitler, Joseph Goebbels and Hermann Goering *look on as the 1936 Olympic games unfold. Although, human nature being what it is, they were especially delighted whenever their own nation's athletes won a prize, there is no evidence to back up the "urban legend" that the National Socialist leaders snubbed any of the contestants in any way, as much as the liberal establishment and the controlled press would like to make us believe was the case.*

That, too, astonished the foreigners who had experienced the sophistical teachings of so many schools and universities that were turning out pompous graduates by the thousands, their heads stuffed with undigested postulates, flabby in body and will, lacking initiative: nullities facing the asperity of life's hazardous battles. ❖

General Leon Degrelle was an individual of exceptional intellect and physical courage, dedicated to western culture. He fought not only for his country but for the survival of Christian Europe, preventing the continent from being inundated by Stalin's savage hordes. What Degrelle has to say, as an eyewitness to some of the key events in the history of the 20th century, is vastly important within the historical and factual context of his time and has great relevance to the continuing struggle today for the survival of civilization as we know it.

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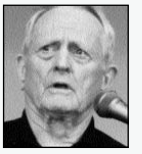

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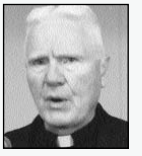

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